

# ARK ANGEL

Special Edition

ISSUE 30



**EMPTYING THE CAGES**  
an interview with Tom Regan

**ALF**  
The Early Years

**REBEL HEART**  
an interview with Kevin Kijonaas

**GREYSTOKES REVISITED**





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We apologise to our readership for the long delay in publishing Issue 30 of Arkangel. The magazine is produced entirely on a voluntary basis and all its contributors are actively involved in ongoing animal rights campaigns. Arkangel magazine will now be published bi-annually, while current news and views can be found on our website, which provides a regularly updated on-line international news service at [www.arkangelweb.org](http://www.arkangelweb.org)

Cover shows artist's impression of activist with the 5 greyhounds and a lurcher liberated from The Royal College of Surgeons in Downe, Kent in October 1983. Full story inside.

The views expressed in Arkangel do not necessarily reflect those of the editor. We reserve the right to edit articles submitted for publication. All information is published in good faith, but we cannot be held responsible for errors or omissions.





# TESTING TIMES

editorial

In light of the developing strategies by governments in various countries to file animal rights campaigners under the 'terrorist' umbrella, the debate about what constitutes terror continues to rage both within the movement as well as outside it. It is certain that it will do so for some time to come. In the UK, the legality of methods employed by various grassroots pressure groups has increasingly fallen under scrutiny, with false accusations and savage attacks by the media common place. Despite a complete lack of evidence to substantiate connections between various campaigns and direct action, it seems that any method employed by animal rights campaigners and activists is now fodder for the law courts. There is of course no question that direct actions in the purest sense (that is to say acts knowingly undertaken to break a law) always take place outside the law to challenge abusers, to save the lives of non-human animals incarcerated for exploitation, to cause economic sabotage etc. Individuals who undertake such actions risk their liberty and even their lives in the process. But what of other activists who choose to make their mark within the margins of the legal arena?

It could of course be argued that any action undertaken to further the cause of animal rights, whether it is within the law or outside it, is in a sense a direct action if it offers a challenge undertaken by an individual or group to prevent suffering. If that challenge

is firmly placed to directly contradict the claims of establishments or institutions operating within the protectorate of the status quo and, further, if its aim is to see to it that it ceases to exist altogether, then its aim is no different to that of the ALF activist. It is merely that the methodology is different. The question is: where will the state draw the line as to what form of protest will be permissible; is one to be considered guilty merely by association with the movement, and if so will injunctions and curfews and on the spot arrests for sneezing at the wrong time become the order of the day?

Punitive measures and restrictions are a causal factor in the escalations in many conflicts – the narrower the field of expression available to an individual, the greater their tendency to revolt. To some extent, these questions are irrelevant – in the worst case scenario, if such judgements are enforced, boundary violations will undoubtedly be committed, and courts will have a never-ending stream of campaigners up for spurious charges, wasting judiciary time and making a mockery of the system.

In increasingly narrowing the options and methods available to activists and campaigners to make their grievances heard, the state merely drives a greater wedge between progress, with the resulting frustrations that lead to increased 'lawlessness'. There can be no better proof of this where the animal rights movement is concerned than in the downscaling of direct actions that followed Labour's succession to the Parliamentary seat of power. Having pulled votes from many disenfranchised

minority groups by promising sweeping changes, the party failed to meet the agendas; direct actions began to increase as the tide of change receded further and further from view.

Yet despite increasing pressures to stick within the narrowing legal boundaries being enforced on campaigners, the movement appears to be recharging. Its growth owes a debt in no small measure to the 'lawless' actions of individuals who have dared for the last few decades to put their liberty on the line. Agree with their methods or not, the image of the masked activist carrying beagle or liberated chicken in arms did more than the efforts of any welfare or rights organisations to publicise what was going on in the shady establishments that exist throughout the world where non-human animals are shamelessly exploited to satisfy personal tastes and profit. These individuals helped shape the movement, and are still a small albeit intrinsic part of it today. There are many who believe that direct action hampers progress. True or not, direct action is an inevitable constituent of any liberation struggle; we are open to disagree with the methodology, but it is nonetheless a vital part of the history of the movement.

It is with this in mind, that Arkangel's editorial team continues to publish on the subject, not in an attempt to glorify it, but to contribute to the ongoing examination of the phenomenon, and to understand it in the context of today's world. Whether you are an advocate for or against direct action, we hope that this long-delayed issue will have something for everyone.





# What do we want?

**John Curtin**

**Do you think it's actually possible to achieve animal liberation, or are you one of those whose heart has been shattered by the unbelievable cruelty of the modern world, and for whom animal liberation is a seemingly unattainable utopian dream? If you fall into the latter category - as I myself have often done - then this is written with you in mind. The act of writing it will, I hope, also be personally therapeutic for me, enabling me to retrieve my dream - after all, if you don't put it on the map, how are you ever going to find it?**

For those who answered 'YES' to the first half of the question, I hope that you find this article an inspiration; I hope that whatever it is you're doing to remain so positive, you just keep doing it - because it's working. Keep your eyes on the prize, your dreams alive and hold on to your energy and your hopes. If you believe something to be true then it will become true by its consequences. If you believe in animal liberation - it will become true!

When I use the term 'animal liberation', I include in this our liberation: humans are animals, even if society in general is unwilling to accept this. To keep things simple, however, I will use the term 'animal' in this context with the 'usual' implied non-human meaning, though I believe that it is this divide - this schism - that lies at the very root of our breakdown with our real selves and our relationship with the planet that we inhabit, which has led us into the mess in which we find ourselves today.

It's hard for anyone with a grain of compassion not to be crushed by the levels of suffering by which we are surrounded. True, the number of vegetarians continues to increase, but so do the numbers of animals being killed; awareness about animal issues is growing but so is the worldwide abuse - the list of positives versus negatives in the 'big picture' is extensive, but we are still left with the fact that billions of animals are suffering.

The point is that when it comes to liberation, there is only one number that is important - and that is the number 1 - the individual, and that fundamental truth is encapsulated in the saying: a million deaths is a statistic but one is a tragedy. Yet that tragedy can be turned around by the simple fact that someone, somewhere, right now is liberating an animal from suffering, and for all of us, that fact should be a celebration: animal liberation in its truest sense is achieved every time an animal is freed from suffering.

If you're resisting the theme of this article, then just suspend that resistance and read on, regardless of what your tactical brain has come up with - whether it's educating the public, sabotaging animal abuse by damaging property, campaigning for legal protection of animals etc. I am not arguing here that one tactic is any more effective than another when it comes to the 'big picture': what I am saying is that to an individual animal who is suffering, all that really matters to that animal is liberation - right HERE, right NOW - its that simple. No argument. If you were a battery hen crammed into a cage, no promises of future legislation to ban such practices, no amount of demos or damage to animal abusers' properties etc would be of comfort. I am not talking on behalf of all the battery hens in the world: I am talking about what liberation means to one hen who is suffering today, and the best thing you could do for that one hen would be to get her out of that bloody cage.

A lot of our actions within the animal liberation movement are not just for short-term gain - they are done with a view to helping all animals including those that are yet to be born into one system of abuse or another. What I believe passionately and fundamentally is that when one person makes the decision that they're going to rescue one animal, it can have huge repercussions for other





**Before and after photographs of collie cross liberated from Park Farm.**



animals. I base this view on my knowledge of the history of our movement and the crucial role that the act of liberating animals, or rather an individual animal, has had.

The image of a hooded figure holding a beagle, a pig, a rat, a hen – a survivor from the animal holocaust – is iconic. Neither the media nor public image consultants created it for us – it is our image that we created for ourselves and we love it because it means everything to us – it means freedom achieved by heroism. Whenever a person is motivated to do something by compassion in their heart, they become a hero, and being a hero is not a super-human attribute. I personally know countless heroes. The danger of creating an iconic image is that it can become elevated to the point where it seems out of reach, and in this case, that would be a tragedy, because the act of rescuing an animal in need is a very ordinary and natural act for a compassionate person.

The theme of animal liberation runs through the strands of history and religious thought. I have chosen two examples merely to illustrate the fact that there is nothing new about it. The epic Babylonian tale of Gilgamesh, set in ancient Mesopotamia, was written at least 5000 years ago, and is the earliest known written history. There, in the thick of it, we find our first recorded animal liberator in the form of Enkidu, who was to provide the prototype for Adam and the tale that evolved into that of Adam and Eve, Noah and the Ark, and the Great Flood stories of Genesis.

Enkidu, who knew nothing of the science of agriculture, was the protector of the wild animals and freed them from the traps set down by farmers, the new conquerors of the land. The ruler Gilgamesh, on the other hand, was a savage oppressor of his people, and although he represented what it was to be 'civilised', it was in fact Enkidu the 'Savage' who was the truly civilised one. Yet Enkidu was corrupted by a deceitful woman who led them all into the nightmare of 'civilised' environmental destruction and war, and ultimately to the Great Flood. (These events took place in the area now known as Iraq, where western society and agriculture, and all that came with it, began to take shape. Ironical that the big guns of western society are now at war with the country of their own birthplace...)

By the time biblical dominion (read 'tyranny') manifested itself in the Catholic Church, non-human life was literally doomed and stories of animal liberators are few and far between – yet the history of the East is full of stories of animal liberation. Buddha's teachings are full of wisdoms about how we should treat our animal brethren:

'A disciple of the Buddha should have a mind of compassion and cultivate the practice of liberating sentient beings. He must reflect thus: throughout the eons of





**Beagle re-liberated during the second raid on Park Farm.**

time, all male sentient beings has been my father, all female sentient beings my mother. I was born of them, if I slaughter them, I would be slaughtering my parents as well as eating flesh that was once my own. This is so because all elemental earth, water, fire and air - the four constituents of all life - have previously been part of my body, part of my substance. I must therefore always cultivate the practice of liberating sentient beings and enjoin others to do likewise - as sentient beings are forever reborn, again and again, lifetime after lifetime. If a Bodhisattva sees an animal on the verge of being killed, he must devise a way to rescue and protect it, helping it to escape suffering and death. The disciple should always teach the Bodhisattva precepts to rescue and deliver sentient beings. If he were to have said that today, he would be arrested for incitement...'

As with everything else in life, humans have an uncanny capacity for destroying good things, and this holds true for the Buddhist practise of liberating animals. In Buddhist

Taiwan, the practice of liberating animals has become so commercialized that it leads to the suffering and death of about 600,000 birds each year as a whole industry has grown up around the trapping of animals in order for others to free them. In India, caged birds can be seen for sale outside the main temple of Bodhgaya, where Buddha was said to have become enlightened! The same distortion of an idea occurs at the Olympics or some United Nations ceremonies, in which thousands of birds are released to represent peace and liberation - a fine sentiment invalidated by an act of cruelty.

The modern day animal liberation movement evolved from hunt-sabbing in the 1960s. It was, and is, animal liberation. It is not campaigning, or protesting - you are not appealing to the hunters to stop hunting, or anyone else to stop them - you are stopping them, directly. Although sabbing wasn't abandoned (and indeed, grew from strength to strength), the consequences of taking the revolutionary step of sabbing, and the energy created by the feeling of saving

individual animals lives, broadened the vision into the concept of liberation across the board, and gave birth to The Band Of Mercy in 1972, which was later reborn as the Animal Liberation Front.

One of the earliest Band of Mercy actions involved the liberation from a breeder of six guinea pigs. Some would argue that the liberation of six sweet, gentle little creatures wouldn't end vivisection, but it did for them. (A million lives saved is a statistic, and one is everything to that individual). AND the breeders closed down. They closed down - full stop. By the time Ronnie Lee was sent to prison, animal liberation had begun to find its stride and its own momentum.

In 1975, Mike Huskisson rescued two 'smoking' beagles from ICI, where the dogs had been used in tobacco-smoking experiments. He was arrested and charged with burglary but the news of the liberation and the scandal of how cruelly these dogs were abused shocked the nation and there was a huge groundswell of support for the liberation. ICI, fearful of the adverse







**Before and after photographs of Old English Sheep dog liberated from Oxford University labs**



publicity, bottled out of a trial, and Mike was acquitted of the charges. Again some might say: 'liberating two dogs is hardly going to stop vivisection.' Well it did stop it totally for those two dogs and the consequences of how positively it affected the fight against vivisection cannot be underestimated.

Anyone harbouring a romantic image that early ALF activists just liberated animals, and that the smashing and burning of animal abusers' property is a recent development by 'extremists', should take a look at the ALF's history. 'Mindful vandalism' played a key role from the very beginning. The first ALF liberation was the rescue of three pregnant beagles from Pfizer labs in Sandwich in 1976. Ronnie Lee was imprisoned for a second time for handling 'stolen goods' - he had 125 mice from a laboratory animal breeder in his bedroom when the police raided his house - they were returned to the lab and killed.

Was it therefore a waste of time to liberate those 125 mice? Ronnie's imprisonment created a huge amount of media coverage and levels of support for the ALF mushroomed whilst he was inside. When he was released, he came out to a nationwide movement - and the image that people rallied behind was that of the masked liberator. I have old copies of BUAV, NAVS and Animal Aid magazines: they are full - and I mean full - of images of masked crusaders and it was at this time that their membership numbers rocketed.

These were exciting times - the animal welfare movement gave way to the Animal Liberation movement. It reached the point where daytime raids, such as those on Life Sciences (now HLS), in 1982, began to take place. Forget about bigger cages - the message was NO MORE CAGES. By the late 1970s, liberation raids had begun in other European countries, Australia, and in the USA - and it was these liberation raids that heralded the coming of the ALF's subsequent activities - very bad news for animal abusers.

The case of Britches is a perfect example of how the liberation of one animal can help others. On 20 April 1985, the ALF raided the University of California, Riverside laboratory to remove Britches, a five-week old macaque monkey who had been separated from his mother and left alone in a wire cage with his eyes sewn shut as part of a maternal and sensory-deprivation experiment. As a result of the ensuing publicity, eight of the 17 research projects active at the laboratory at the time of the raid were shut down. But further than that, the video of that raid and the beautiful, heart-warming scenes of his recovery and rehabilitation into a new world of love and compassion went around the world. I remember that when I saw that video for the first time in a packed public meeting, I looked around and there was literally not a





## Interfauna

dry eye in the house. And those tears were not in vain - they spurred many into a deeper commitment to the movement. If you haven't seen that video, then watch it and weep! Go on - have a good cry - it has a happy ending.

When I joined the movement in the early 1980s, the idea of peacefully demonstrating as a form of realising change was hardly on the radar - it was liberating animals and economic sabotage that was the focus. The film I made about activist Jill Phipps mentions campaigns in which we were both involved such as the local fox-fur farm, Cocksparrow, and a campaign to shut down a battery farm run by nuns! (I must mention this, even though it is completely irrelevant - battery-farming nuns whose convent walls were adorned with massive photos of Apollo space missions - eh???) Before these establishments were finally shut down, many arctic foxes and battery hens would,

with a little help from their friends, find their way out of those cages and into loving homes.

One of the worst afternoons of my life was looking after two newly liberated foxes in a house, waiting for transport to take them to a permanent home. They made the most hideous blood curdling screams (as foxes do), and all I could do was just sit there and wait for the police to come bursting in following a tip-off from neighbours who had said that they could hear babies and young children being ritually sacrificed. However, the first raid for which I got arrested, against Wickham laboratories, was neither for liberation nor economic sabotage. A number of organisations emerged around that time called the Liberation Leagues. Even though the idea was to break into animal abuse centres, the main purpose was to gain evidence about the horrors that took place inside, and sometimes the taking

of animals was not on the agenda.

Wickham had been targeted because they and their associates were suspected of being involved in pet stealing. Wickham had first come to the attention of the movement after a liberation raid in 1981 and, though liberating animals is not always the most damaging for the animal abusers, it has proved time and again to be a catalyst for subsequent actions. And so it was that the earlier liberation galvanised League activists to raid the labs again, but this time it was paperwork we were after. It was a strange feeling to break into a lab and not take any animals, but that was the plan so it was important to remain disciplined. There have been cases in other countries, where the uncovering of documentary evidence relating to animal abuse has led to the closure of those hell-holes, but sadly in Britain, it seems that no matter how damning the evidence, the system always covers up rather than taking any decisive action.

The Boots campaign is another example of how liberations have precipitated further action. The Boots campaign had two phases - one in the 1980s, and the other nearly a decade later following beagle liberation raids on their lab at Thurgarton. The iconic symbol of a few vivisection survivors started and kept the campaigns going, and the faces of those few fortunate dogs, which graced hundreds of thousands of leaflets and posters, became the face of the campaign. After two more years of unrelenting pressure which - apart from other things - kept shop-front glass repairers busy up and down the country, Boots sold their labs to BASF so that they could beg the movement to leave them alone because they were no longer carrying out any vivisection themselves.

Around the time of the Boots raid, there was a whole host of other liberation raids against vivisection. There were several against Oxford University, and on one of these raids, many dogs were liberated who were obviously ex-pets; one famous piece of footage shows an Old English Sheepdog trotting away from the lab. Although the police managed to get five or six of the dogs back, the dogs were re-liberated several days later.

I was imprisoned for a raid on Interfauna, which took a great deal of logistical planning and many nights of surveillance as the place was heavily protected. Barry Horne was on that raid, and he was a tower of strength throughout. Barry - a guy that caused millions of pounds worth of damage to animal abusers' property and was to die on hunger strike. There he was carting beagles and rabbits across fields under the cover of darkness to their freedom: he was no 'hard man' or 'terrorist' - he was a committed, compassionate soul. The Interfauna raid followed an earlier undercover investigation inside HLS (prior to the 'punching beagles' exposé), which identified the company as being the supplier of beagles for obscene



experiments. The police launched a major investigation into the raid (not the cruelty expose!) and at one point involved four different police forces! When the Judge sentenced me to 18 months and told me I was worse than a normal criminal, I thought of the 82 beagles and 26 rabbits out there in good loving homes, and that thought kept me going for the rest of the sentence.

Although the undercover exposé grabbed the headlines, it was the raid that inspired local people who had had no previous involvement with animal rights activists, to set up a campaign to close down HLS. The campaign simmered for a few years. Then came the shocking undercover investigation seven years later by Channel 4, which set off a renewed campaign that has continued to pursue HLS relentlessly.

That Interfauna raid, by the way, was not to be the last. Despite the installation of even more sophisticated security measures following the raid, a further 79 beagles were liberated, thanks to the discovery of a file in an HLS dustbin detailing the entire security system, which was bypassed by means of an ingenious specially designed bridge that went over the fence...

The Newchurch campaign was also preceded by a liberation raid in 1999 (for

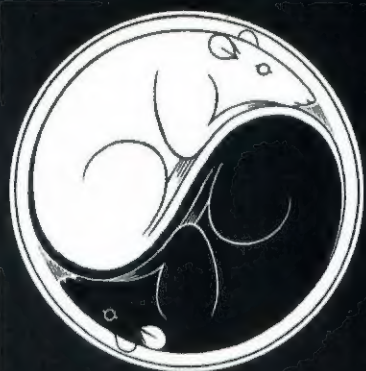
which David Blenkinsop was sentenced to 18 months in prison), and once again, it was the images of the liberated guinea pigs and the heartbreaking images of those left behind that spurred on the subsequent SNGP campaign. Those sheds are now empty and it was a simple act of compassion - the liberation of 600 guinea pigs - that initiated the whole campaign.

These are just a handful of examples of what liberation means. There is so much I haven't covered, like the liberation of animals such as wild boar and mink that can be released directly into the wild. There is the whole area of homing animals and caring for them after their lifetime in prison. I remember one ashen-faced vet who thought he had seen all that could be seen of the face of cruelty, but whom I found in tears when I came to collect the cats that had been liberated from vivisection, and whom I had left with him for treatment. He told me that it had been the worst day of his life. Some of the animals were in such a terrible state that they were beyond help, but that in itself was a release. For the others, recovery was gradual, and they survived to experience loving kindness, the essence of true compassion.

So where does that leave 'what is the point of rescuing a few animals when so many

millions are being killed'? It leaves it where it belongs as a waste of breath. There is no feeling quite like seeing an animal experience love, comfort, sunshine and fresh air for the first time. Giving other sentient creature's freedom and love has always made me happy - there's no drug like it. So where does that leave 'what is the point of rescuing a few animals when so many millions are being killed'? It leaves it where it belongs as a waste of breath. There is no feeling quite like seeing an animal experience love, comfort, sunshine and fresh air for the first time. Giving other sentient creature's freedom and love has always made me happy - there's no drug like it.

'Spectacular' ALF raids are no more or less important than acts of everyday animal liberation - of everyday heroism, of chained-up starving dogs being freed from back gardens, of foxes being freed from snares, of badgers being freed from DEFRA death cages, of magpies being freed from Larsen traps, of just the simple little acts of love and liberation that go on everyday. Many acts - even large-scale raids - these days go unreported, but each has inspirational value. These are all acts of animal liberation that we make possible. Is it possible to achieve animal liberation? I hope I've helped you decide where you stand on that question...



ARKANGEL  
for Animal Liberation

The Arkangel team welcomes you to the New Look website.

Arkangel is unique as the first international animal rights news service. The website provides regularly updated news with breaking stories from around the world as and when they happen, making it indispensable in keeping up to date with the latest news worldwide.

Features and editorials not published in our print edition give in depth analyses, covering key issues both about and related to the animal rights movement.

So whether you're a journalist wanting to know what's really happening in the International world of the animal rights movement, or you're an animal rights campaigner interested in reading news, features, and opinions about your movement, Arkangel needs to be your first port of call.

We look forward to seeing you online soon.

www.arkangelweb.org





# Emptying the cages

*Tom Regan's exclusive interview with Arkangel magazine is as thought provoking as one would expect from an Emeritus Professor of Philosophy. He is widely respected for his vast contribution to the animal rights movement and for his across-the board frankness.*

**A.** Hi Tom. Thanks for agreeing to this interview. In opening, could you tell us a little about your personal 'Road to Damascus' – your epiphany, if you will?

**Regan.** Thank you for inviting me to be part of the conversation. Much as I regret to say this, I was a slow learner. As a boy I fished for fun and willingly dissected animals as a student. I went to zoos and circuses. Even bought my wife a mink hat. Worse, during my college years I worked as a butcher. Back then I had eyes but did not see, ears but did not hear. It was not until my late 20s that my life took a different direction. (Let me just add, parenthetically, that my wife Nancy was beside or a step ahead of me during this transition. When I talk about what 'I' did, I could as truly write 'we' did this or 'we' thought that). Anyhow, during the Vietnam War I was active in the anti-war movement. As a philosopher, I wanted to write a definitive moral critique of the war.

One day I happened upon a book entitled *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments With Truth*. The author was Mohandas K Gandhi. The book changed my life, not because I agreed with Gandhi in all respects. He was an absolute pacifist. He thought using violence is always wrong. I'm too much of a blue-collar, working-class kind of guy to think that way.

Gandhi changed my life for a different reason. I was working to end the war in Vietnam because it involved unjustified violence done to human beings. Gandhi asked - I don't mean he literally asked me this; it was the force of his argument that posed the question - Gandhi asked, 'What about violence done to non-human beings? What about the dead body parts (aka 'meat') in your freezer? Do you think animals have a sweet death? Then go to a slaughterhouse!'

That's what I did. I went to slaughterhouses and saw how the dismemberment of animals is so gruesomely violent. That experience helped change my life. I simply could not go forward as an anti-war activist and continue to eat the flesh of animals. Mind you, I didn't change all at once, in a flash. For me it was a gradual process; first eliminating one thing, then another until a day dawned when I looked in the mirror and saw a vegetarian looking back at me.

So, yes, trying to answer Gandhi's challenge by using my head, my reason, motivated me to change the habits of my life. But I would be less than honest if I gave the impression that my heart played no role. It did. The more I learned about how animals were being treated, whether on the farm or in the lab, the more my heart bled for them.

**A.** In your book *The Struggle For Animal Rights*, you say 'creation groans under the weight of the evil humans visit upon ... mute, powerless creatures. It is our hearts, not just



our heads, that call for an end to it all, that demand of us that we overcome, for them, the habits and forces behind their oppression' and further, 'that all great movements ... go through three stages: ridicule, discussion, and adoption'. At what point in this 'trinity' of stages do you believe we are now? There are signs that we should be optimistic about certain areas of animal exploitation, but can total abolition ever become a reality when our very make-up predisposes us to be self-serving rather than altruistic in our actions? What is your view on this?

**Regan.** Well, it's almost a quarter of a century since I wrote those words, and a lot has changed - a lot of good things have come to pass, far too many to enumerate. To cite a few examples: vegetarians were rare back then, while vegans were virtually non-existent, at least in America. Today our numbers are large enough to make an impact on the market. It's hard to find a restaurant that doesn't have something vegetarian or vegan on the menu, or a market that doesn't cater to our food choices. And think of the successes we've seen in closing marine parks that imprisoned dolphins and orcas; the growing number of places that bar circuses with performing animals; and the birth of the sanctuary movement: all over the world. Or (and this is flat-out amazing) how about having Barcelona decree an end to bull fights. An end to bull fights, in a major city in Spain! Twenty-five years ago, no one would have thought this was possible.

So, yes, many good things have happened and are happening. Not enough, of course. Not fast enough, of course. But has there been progress? Without a doubt. Here's the way I picture things. Imagine we are facing a large wall. It stretches for miles and towers above us. The wall represents humanity's oppression of animals. It is so large there is no chance that we can topple it today. Or tomorrow. Or any time soon. What we can do is take the wall apart, one brick at a time. That's where we are, as a movement. We are dismantling the wall of oppression, one brick at a time.

So where does this put us in relationship to the trinity of changes you mentioned? We are way past the stage of ridicule. Oh, sure, there are still some people who think Animal Rights Advocates are weird, or nuts, or worse. But most people understand that ARAs are sensible, informed, caring folks. Discussion? There's a lot of discussion that's taking place, involving every aspect of animal oppression. Adoption? It's happening. Slowly, yes, but surely. One person at a time. It happened to me. If I thought I was some truly exceptional person, I wouldn't have much faith in believing the same thing can happen to

other people. But I am not some truly exceptional person. I'm just a very ordinary bloke. All I know is, if Tom Regan can become an Animal Rights Advocate, anyone can become an Animal Rights Advocate. Which is why I have to respectfully disagree when you say that 'our very make-up predisposes us to be self-serving rather than altruistic.' I think we are just as capable of acting for-the-other as we are of acting for-ourselves. As ARAs, our most pressing task

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is to help others discover this latter capacity in themselves.

**A.** Your essential standpoint is an ethical one. In your epic *The Case For Animal Rights*, you succeeded in cementing a persuasive case for animal rights. What was the initial reaction to this work among your contemporaries when it was first published in 1983, and have you since seen a growing acceptance among contemporary academics and philosophers that these moral arguments hold an unassailable truth?

If so, do you feel that the transfer of these belief systems from the dusty tome and lecture hall is a long way off from entering the mainstream in a filtered form into the school curriculum?

**Regan.** Philosophers never agree with one another without qualification. We are very picky when it comes to what words mean, whether a premise in an argument is true, or whether the argument itself is valid. So, no, I wouldn't say all my philosophical colleagues think my views encapsulate 'unassailable truth'. They don't think this about anyone's views. What I think they would say (maybe not every one of them but almost every one of them) is that my work satisfies the highest standards of the discipline, which is all a philosopher can really hope for. And that's why *The Case* has played some role in transforming higher education in America. Here's what I mean.

Back when I first started to write about ethics and animals (this would be in the early 1970s), there was not a single course in the more than 3600 American colleges or universities that included a discussion of animal rights. Not a single one. Today we would be hard pressed to find a college or university that does not have such a course. The change in America really has been this dramatic: from nowhere, to everywhere.

How did this happen? First, philosophers got things moving. Books and articles were written in which our obligations to animals figured prominently. Once a body of competent literature was available, philosophers began to introduce animal rights into their courses. Theologians were also working in the same area, with the same result. Then legal scholars began to add their voice along with historians, sociologists, psychologists, and ethologists. The list of disciplines that have brought about this revolutionary change is virtually as long as the list of disciplines taught.

**Regan.** I am not saying that all these teachers are advocating animal rights. What I am saying is that animal rights is being read about and discussed in their classrooms. This is a profound change, nothing short of a revolutionary change, without historical precedent. All this said, not all nations of the world are at the same stage of development. What is true in America is not true in Saudi Arabia, for example. It's not even true of universities throughout the European Union. But, again, everything is a process. Things are beginning to move. My most recent book, *Empty Cages: Facing the Challenge of Animal Rights*, has been translated into Chinese. Chinese! Once a body of competent philosophical materials is available to Chinese teachers, the same kind of revolutionary change we've seen occur in America will take place in China. And in other nations, too.



As a supporter of strategic non-violence (a view expounded by Gandhi), you have frequently expressed your opposition to liberations and the destruction of property. You consider them counterproductive (a) because the media focus on the 'atrocities' committed by ALFers, rather than the issues in question, and (b) because they contradict the animal rights activist's essential precept of non-violence. Many would argue that such methods are, in fact, non-violent in their essential nature and that their use is justified if it prevents the death of non-human animals. You have stated, I believe, that such methods could only be acceptable if all other avenues had first been exhausted. Do you not feel that we have already arrived at that point and that words are cheap to the irradiated monkey dying on the floor of her laboratory cage, or the raccoon skinned alive for her fur, and thrown still living onto a pile of corpses in a Chinese market? Could you explain your position on this controversial issue, and tell us whether there are any situations in which you would consider such actions acceptable?

**Regan.** As I said earlier, I am not opposed to using violence in all circumstances. If children are endangered, and if non-violent options have been conscientiously explored and exhausted, who amongst us will object? So (to my way of thinking) the real questions are (1) 'What is violence?' and (2) 'Under what circumstances can it be justified?'

Concerning (1), I side with what Aristotle refers to as 'the many and the wise'. By 'the many' he means ordinary people. If we ask these people whether setting fire to a synagogue and blowing up an abortion clinic are acts of violence, they will say, 'Of course!' And if we add, 'But suppose no one is hurt. Would that make these acts non-violent?' ordinary people will say, 'Of course not.' In other words, ordinary people, who use ordinary English, believe you don't have to hurt someone in order to use violence against something.

By 'the wise', Aristotle means 'the people who have thought a lot about a particular topic.' In the present case, the wise would include Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr, and Nelson Mandela. So suppose we ask them the same questions we asked the many. Their answer is the same: you don't have to hurt someone in order to do violence against something. In the particular case of property destruction, as a form of economic sabotage, Gandhi and King explicitly disavow its use, whereas Mandela explicitly supports it. In other words, when it comes to the moral propriety or strategic advantage of using violence, the 'wise' disagree. But (importantly) they do not disagree when it comes to the status of property destruction as a form of violence.

Now, I know some ARAs think differently.

For example, spokespersons for ALF say ALF's acts of property destruction (acts of arson, for example) are non-violent because no sentient being is hurt. These folks certainly are entitled to say anything they wish. My point is, what they say runs directly counter to what both the many and the wise think. Which is why the ordinary person on the street and the likes of Gandhi, King and Mandela are not going to seriously consider the moral propriety of ALF arsons unless or

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**"Exhaust legal remedies first; then get the animals out, after which you stand before the world and say (in effect), 'I have just broken the law. Arrest me if you will.' This is the sort of non-violent law-breaking that Gandhi and King would have supported. Mandela too. Count me in their number."**

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until ALF acknowledges the nature of these acts for what they are: acts of violence. In other words, ALF spokespersons are not helping, they are hurting the chance that the justification of ALF actions will get a fair hearing.

**Regan.** As for the question of justification: I address this at length in *Empty Cages* (pp. 188-192) and (because of the limits of space) can't repeat my ideas fully here. Let me just say that the heart of the matter

concerns the diligence and thoroughness with which non-violent alternatives have been explored. To my way of thinking, ARAs - all of us - have done far too little in this regard. We need to remember that we are trying to change patterns of thinking that have dominated our culture for thousands of years. It is only natural that it will take time (no one knows how long, of course) before we have exhausted the non-violent alternatives open to us.

However, when it comes to animal rescues, I am solidly on the side of those who own up publicly to their actions. Exhaust legal remedies first; then get the animals out, after which you stand before the world and say (in effect), 'I have just broken the law. Arrest me if you will.' This is the sort of non-violent law-breaking that Gandhi and King would have supported. Mandela too. Count me in their number. On balance, then, I am not against breaking the law (in the spirit of open rescue, for example). Nor am I against using violence, in all circumstances (though I oppose the sort of large-scale property destruction favoured by some ARAs). These matters are not all white or all black; they are varying shades of grey.

**A.** You refer to yourself as an abolitionist who wants to see a world full of 'Empty Cages' (the symbolic title of your most recent work) - that is to say, a world in which no non-human exists as a commodity for our use, whether for fur, flesh, entertainment, research, war, etc. In *Empty Cages*, you draw on examples in your own life to demonstrate that your journey towards abolitionism started from a similar vantage point to that of the average person. In occupying that position, you accepted without question that this is how things are: animals are here for our use. Do you believe that - as with you - the spark of compassion has to be lit (in your case largely by Gandhi's writings) and that it exists within us all? If so, can it touch those who at this very moment are defending the right to glorify animal abuse and its continuance?

**Regan.** I've answered part of this question before but let me add a few further thoughts. In *Empty Cages* I use a famous illustration of an optical illusion. If you look at it one way, you see the figure as a vase: looked at another way, you see it as two faces, each facing the other. It's the same figure, just seen differently. Well, before I read Gandhi, I saw animals one way: they are here for us, to eat, to wear, and so on. After Gandhi began to raise my consciousness, I started to see animals differently. It's the same cow, the same chimp, the same dolphin, the same mouse. But once we have a change in perception, we see these animals differently: as kin, or friends, not as food, or clothes, for example.



The daunting challenge all ARAs face is to help other people - and I don't mean a few; I mean millions upon millions - have a change of perception. This is what has motivated me over the past thirty years: to help create the opportunity for people to see animals differently. I know this happened in my life. I've seen the same thing happen over and over again in the lives of others. So, yes, I am an optimist. I'm Irish, after all!

Are there some people so far back in the darkness that they will never have a change of perception? Even a friend of humanity like I am has to acknowledge that, yes, some people are hopeless, are unreachable. In fact, I have met a few myself. How do I handle this situation when it occurs? I move along as quickly as I can, in search of someone else who is alive to the possibility of personal transformation. I don't waste time with people who are lost causes.

Ultimately, any advances we make towards an expanded consciousness that embraces other life forms must successfully challenge the utilitarian perspective from which they are perceived. You say that 'we never resolve moral conflicts by pretending they don't exist'. Yet 'change, especially when it means altering the habits of a lifetime, is never a welcome prospect'. Animal abuse is built into the very infrastructure of every society and religion around the world, and guarantees economic wealth to those who depend on its continuance. For them, non-humans are merely disposable commodities. The skinning and boiling alive of a cat in China, the shocking account of which we read on the opening page of *Empty Cages*, is executed in precisely the same cavalier manner as the slaughter of a cow in the United States. To the prevailing majority, there is no moral conflict in what they do to non-humans. How, then, can they possibly be persuaded to sacrifice their comforts?

**Regan.** There is no one way to reach everybody. While it probably is an exaggeration to say that there are as many ways as there are different people, we should be open to exploring the various options and critically evaluating their effectiveness. Myself, I am a goal-oriented person. If I was involved in running an activist group, I would sit down with everybody and say, 'Look, this is where we are today in terms of active membership. Six months from now here is where we want to be. A year from now here is where we want to be. Let's concentrate on doing a, b, c between now and then and see if we have met our objectives. If we have, good! What we are doing is working. If not, what else can we try?'

I would want to go through the process of critical planning and review at least every six months instead of just letting things run their usual course. What works best when it comes to opening people to the possibility of

change is something we can learn by testing the methods employed. You can quantify this. Either we are growing or we are not. This doesn't mean that people will knock one another over in their rush to change their habits of a lifetime. Resistance should be expected. Beneath it all, though, our abiding faith has to be: there is a better way of life, both for the animals and for ourselves. Animal liberation truly is human liberation. Our true freedom really does consist in ceasing to be their jailers.

The advance of *Homo sapiens* has been remorseless; the adaptability of the species has rendered it able to colonise almost the entire globe. But that adaptability is tied hand in glove with a ruthlessness that has plundered the environment, and destroyed the lives of countless human and non-human peoples, an attitude that is driving us to the brink of destruction. A century can be judged in terms of its achievements and of the crimes that have been committed, and there has been an abundance of both in the last 100 years. The conflicts of the 20th century seem no nearer to being resolved in the new millennium, and the debates continue to rage about what is permissible in a moral, dignified society. In many ways, the struggle for animal rights may very well represent our only chance to salvage what is left after we have destroyed so much. How hopeful are you that we will see a change in the way non-humans are viewed in our lifetimes?

**Regan.** I figure I have at most another twenty years of good health ahead of me. Will the wall of oppression be toppled before I pass on? I don't think so. Will we make serious progress? Will many bricks be removed? Absolutely! And will our ranks continue to grow, so that animal rights becomes a force at the very centre of progressive political and social change? Again, absolutely! I do not have the slightest doubt.

As for myself, I am reminded of a Rabbinic couplet that describes my fate, if you will. It reads:

**'Not thine, the labour to complete,  
And yet thou art not free to cease!'  
'Not free to cease.'**

That pretty much sums up what the rest of my life as an ARA is all about. You just have to keep on truckin'!

#### ERRATUM

\* Paragraph 1, page 12, is a question, and should be preceded by an A (Arkangel)

\* Paragraphs 3 & 6, page 13 are questions, and should be preceded by an A (Arkangel)

Tom Regan (Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, North Carolina State University) has made major contributions to the animal rights movement and been hugely influential in developing the philosophical case for animal rights.

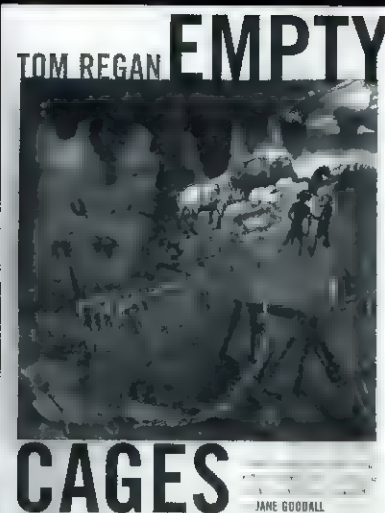
*Empty Cages: Facing the Challenge of Animal Rights*, his most recent addition to an impressive line up of over twenty published books and hundreds of papers, has been heralded as "the best introduction to animal rights ever written" (Jeffrey Masson), "a book destined to change how people think" (Jane Goodall), and "a searing indictment of how animals are treated" (J. M. Coetzee). His other classic texts on the subject: *The Case for Animal Rights* (1983), *The Struggle for Animal Rights* (1988), *Defending Animal Rights* (2001), and *Animal Rights, Human Wrongs: An Introduction to Moral Philosophy* (2003) are outstanding.

In 2001, the North Carolina State University Library established the Tom Regan Animal Rights Archive, using his donated papers and extensive library as a foundation for what has become the world's leading archival resource for animal rights scholarship.

For further information: The Culture & Animals Foundation  
[www.cultureandanimals.org](http://www.cultureandanimals.org).

and

[www.tomregan-animalrights.com](http://www.tomregan-animalrights.com)



Facing the Challenge  
of Animal Rights

Foreword by Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson



# Media Dance

by Roger Yates

***It is easy for modern advocates of any cause to obtain a distorted view of their own movement's impact and achievements if they rely on getting their information from their own media. Most social movement organisations have attractively-designed web sites, leaflets and posters and use them to trumpet successes and their 'victories' of one sort or other.***

While it may be possible to gain information solely from such sources, in practice it is not likely to happen much. Moreover, it is unlikely that those who actively seek to influence the public will be satisfied merely with the number of 'hits' they receive on their web sites. Advocates committed to public education know that to reach large numbers of people 'at one time' requires coverage on mass media outlets. It is the 'mass' in mass media that remains seductive to those who do not simply reject attempts to publicise what they do.

Not surprisingly, social scientists have taken an interest in the often stressed relationship between social movements and the mass media. The relationship has been called a high-risk 'media dance'. To be sure, we can immediately appreciate that it is highly likely that it will be the social movement side of this relationship that experiences the stress and it is the social movements taking all the risks. Many media studies from the 1970s onwards have pointed toward the political and cultural power of the media. Research shows that media coverage does not merely happen. It is constructed; it is a socially manufactured product with a 'certain natural bias' towards the status quo and the creation of the appearance of consensus.

This natural bias is a 'continuing reality', which, as one commentator cheekily notes, 'in practice...is the expression of a middle-class consensus politics, which continues that tradition of impartiality on the side of the establishment'. One of the principal investigators of the relationship between the mass media and social movements acknowledges many of the points above, noting that:

'much of what adherents of a movement see, hear, and read is beyond the control of any movement organisation.'

Some, underlining the inequalities in and difficulties of media access, argue that social movement theorists should be wary of the assumption that activists are simply able to 'play to the media'. Unlike their predecessors, modern so-called 'new' social movements cannot provide themselves with

adequate mass alternatives to the modern media. They have little choice but to reach the public and/or the polity (if that's their campaigning strategy) via the existing information outlets. As anyone who has had to deal in any depth with the mass media knows, 'media messages' are controlled not by social movements and their representatives, but by the 'media communication industries' who 'filter' the activities of movements.

Social movement strategists accept that media discourse is central in framing ethical and political issues that come to public attention. Many in social movements are aware that equality of access to the media, especially the less regulated press, is a myth. As journalist Will Hutton points out, there is:

***'Not surprisingly, social scientists have taken an interest in the often stressed relationship between social movements and the mass media. The relationship has been called a high-risk 'media dance''***

It ought to be added here that editorial and proprietorial interests - commercial or otherwise, and certainly not necessarily transient - can also influence who gets a hearing and who does not. There is a subtle rejoinder to the above, a point that all social movement supporters need to be aware of. This is the argument pointing out that commercial and ideological media interests can seriously affect the quality and quantity of coverage, not necessarily by simply blocking or restricting access, but by dismissing and downgrading what does actually appear (remembering that nothing appears in the media by accident).

The mass media cannot assure complete conservative attunement - nothing can. But they can and do contribute to the fostering of a climate of conformity - not by

total suppression of dissent, but by the presentation of news which falls outside the consensus as curious heresies, or even more effectively, by treating them as irrelevant eccentricities which serious people may dismiss as of no consequence.'

As suggested here, the media are neither 'mass manipulators' nor 'giving the public what it wants'. The latter is the media's favoured image, rather than its reality. However, the ability to powerfully affect the construction of consensus invests mass media interests with an ability to declare who is 'normal', who is 'abnormal', and who is 'deviant'. Those who present problems to the prevailing value system are 'presented as inhabiting a territory beyond the boundaries of society'. Of course, the cheapest and simplest way to do this at the moment is to declare that those they do not like are terrorists or supporters of terrorism.

In terms of ideas such as democracy and representation, access and control issues relating to the mass media have long been identified as issues of great importance. Some groups get to have more say and have more access to the mass media than others do.

There is a matrix of social power according to which society classes, collective actors and other social categories have the greater chance in shaping and reshaping political reality, and of opening and closing the political agenda. Access to and control over the means of production, the means of organisation and the means of communication are unevenly distributed within the social structure.

Social movement strategists tend to understand that the mass media is based on a particular and long-held set of priorities; thus, they focus on stories of drama, conflict, emotion, and human interest. This helps to explain why groups may use sexist methods when seeking publicity. Nevertheless, pandering to perceived media requirements still means social movements get little or no influence over how the mass media uses information it receives.



One theorist concludes that movements must be prepared to pay a 'cost' for media attention. Investigation of the peace movement suggests that its failure to mobilise the full compliment of its potential support amounts to 'the way it was portrayed in the mass media'. The problem is this: a movement's protests may be covered, but regularly with little or no real elaboration of their substantive arguments:

'Demonstrations are described as large or small, well-behaved or unruly, a cross-section of the populace or composed of fringe elements. But the issues that brought the protestors together are presented in terms of one-line slogans, if at all...Size, novelty, and militancy are the chief elements of newsworthiness.'<sup>ii</sup>

While research shows that the presentation of petitions and legal, peaceful, demonstrations are not particularly interesting to the mass media, a 5-nation study of 'unconventional political action' found that the circulation of petitions, along with legal demonstrations, were the 'very activities' that achieved the most public approval rates - 85% and 67% respectively.

Over the years, as we probably all know well enough, campaigners for non-human animals have been labelled in the mass media as everything from 'animal lovers' and 'animal freedom fighters' to 'animal nutters' and, increasingly, 'animal terrorists'. Coverage of 'animal issues' often has had a dismissive air about it; for years, campaigners were portrayed as slightly dotty and strange, perhaps caring more about non-human animals than human ones - eccentric characters who bang on about cute and cuddly animals in a world full of human suffering. Now the focus is firmly on the 'terroristic' nature of the animal movement, whenever that label can be applied.

As I've argued elsewhere (<http://roger/rbgi.net>), to fully understand human/non-human relations - and the campaigning about them - means understanding the historical and contemporary dominance of various forms of animal welfarism. Animal welfarism, especially in its traditional orthodox form, is the normal, usual, commonest and, by far, the 'easiest' way to think about human relations with the non-human world. Traditional animal welfarism is the basis of most of the laws that exist to regulate non-human 'use'. The basis of animal welfarism is to prevent 'unnecessary' but not 'necessary' suffering, and promote 'humane treatment' during times when non-humans are exploited. Conventional welfarism is the way of thinking about human/non-human relations we learn as children in the form of stories about cuddly kittens, playful puppies and happy farmyards in which all seem to have a fantastic time with the kindly old farmer, and not a cage, de-beaker or slaughterhouse in sight.

Not only does animal welfarism maintain a vice-like grip on the human imagination with respect to attitudes toward other animals, it is the traditional form of welfarism,

represented by the RSPCA that is the easiest to grasp as a normative idea. Ideas such as radical or utilitarian animal welfarism (e.g. Peter Singer's animal liberation), or the ALF's version of animal liberation, and especially the bogey of them all, animal rights, are just too much to take in. Not surprisingly, these concerns are highlighted and, indeed, amplified when they are covered in the mass media.

Just as most members of the public have difficulty thinking outside of the traditional welfarist envelope, most in the mass media are largely the same. It is common to find journalistic treatment of 'the animal issue' displaying a strong orientation to non-radical welfarist norms. Media commentators reveal an uncritical acceptance - sometimes an open advocacy - of the assumed 'correctness' of orthodox animal welfare's centrality.

For example, when Barry Horne went on hunger strike over the refusal to establish a Royal Commission on animal experimentation, the Independent editorial (14/12/98) was entitled 'Remember the Real Animal Welfare Issues'. While this piece appears to be a genuine attempt to give serious attention to the issues raised by Barry's actions, the 'title itself' is firmly located within the purview of the moral orthodoxy of welfarism. Perhaps the headline merely reflects the hyperbole of sub-editorship but it is fairly clear from the substantive text that the writer was unable or unwilling to assess the situation from the type of approach often expressed by Barry himself. Barry, the author claimed, was correct to draw attention to the 'unnecessary suffering' (the central welfarist tenet) in 'some animal testing', but other animal issues are as worthy of consideration. Raising a conservation theme, the author notes that the short-haired bumblebee is recently extinct, and implies that Barry should give cognizance to this. She also complains that humans have 'over-fished' waters around Britain. She implies that this is 'the important animal issue', a proper concern.

Such points, of course, are framed within a traditional welfarist/conservationist understanding of human/non-human relations. The author further declares that 'we have over-fished our own fish', a factor requiring political intervention. While a commitment to a philosophical animal rights position does not preclude interest in the plight of animal 'species' taken as a collective, it is true to say that the essential focus of rights thought is based on the individual and his or her protection, even against group welfare. Therefore, given his position, it is extremely unlikely that Barry Horne would approach the issue of humans eating fishes in terms of assessing - let alone 'managing' - 'fish stocks'. Neither would he likely accept that, somehow, fishes 'belong' to human beings simply because they are found in 'our' waters. A rightist's response may be to wonder whether it might be more correct to claim the marine environment for the 'fishes' rather than for human animals. Despite the fact that the

Independent had covered the hunger strikes over many weeks, their story is a dazzling reaffirmation of the centrality of orthodox animal welfarist ideology when it comes to discourse about, and responses to, animal rights claims.

Journalist Polly Toynbee considered the hunger strike. In an article, 'Sorry, But I Think Dying People are More Important than Dumb Animals', she finds it 'perverse' that activists should 'pick first on science', since she believes animal experimentation amounts to the 'most morally justifiable reason for the destruction of animals'.<sup>iii</sup>

However, she goes on, these 'barmy' and 'dotty' animal rights extremists, with their 'selective cause', may be contrasted with other 'sensible animal campaigners' who do not take the 'nutty' rights view. 'Sensible' campaigners 'simply want animals to be treated more kindly, farmed less cruelly' and, where used in experiments, 'scrupulously cared for'. Of course, these 'sensible' advocates are 'realistic' and 'reasonable' animal welfarists of the orthodox sort. Sober traditionalists who apparently appreciate, in words laced with Christian cosmology, that 'humans do have dominion over the birds and the beasts, but that with dominion comes responsibility to treat them well'.

The journalistic treatment of Barry's strike tended to include blanket assertions that, self-evidently, the 'proper' and 'appropriate' way to approach any 'animal question' is through the regulatory mechanisms of conventional welfarism. Many commentators display an extraordinary disinclination to 'break free' of conservative thinking about human/non-human relations. In addition to the traditional welfarism of jobbing journalists, a number of media regulars, Mike Hume, Germaine Greer, Kevin Toolis, Clare Fox, Stephen Rose and Dea Birkett - none ostensibly connected or employed by pro-use mobilisations - appear determined to attack non-traditional animal advocacy with a suspicious frequency. For example, Greer, long-time opponent of anything other than fluffy orthodox animal welfarism, wrote about what she called the 'fallacy of animal rights' (Independent Magazine, 1990).

Having decided that what she regards as 'animal rights' is 'really' about class antagonism, she charges the animal protection movement with the grave misdemeanour of 'queue-jumping', asserting that 'animal rights' places non-human rights 'above' those of women and children who, being human, must 'come first'. Animal advocacy certainly must be seen, she suggests, as at least an unwarranted 'distraction' from human issues.<sup>iv</sup> Pointing out that the modern movement has invented the 'crime of speciesism', Greer concludes with a typical appeal toward the logic of conventional animal welfarism, suggesting that 'man [sic] has no right to harm animals'. Greer accepts that 'some of the uses we make of animals' are 'barbarous' and therefore should be 'outlawed'. However, consistent with animal welfarist thought, historically designed to



regulate and manage rather than end non-human exploitation, she defends eating selected animals and killing 'farmed' ones for their fur.

**Guardian journalist Kevin Toolis makes a habit of writing about what he calls the 'Vegan Wars'.**

**Toolis describes animal advocates as 'victims' of a type of 'fundamentalist religion' based on the vegan diet. Even though he accepts that attending a British 'animal rights' demonstration means coming face to face with a 'cross section' of British society - from 'grey-haired matrons' to 'black-hooded anarchists' - he nevertheless asserts that 'to the majority of Britons, most of the animal rights agenda is just madness'**

Toolis maintains that the animal protection movement argues for the need for 'de-industrialisation'; the 'elimination' of most of humanity; and 'the rejection of Western science'.

The suggestion that a great deal of social movement coverage may be focused on action and militancy rather than discussing campaigners' views is seen explicitly in Toolis' commentaries. For example, he speaks of Singer's non-rights thesis in a single sixteen-line paragraph within seven pages of magazine text and pictures. He not once mentions Tom Regan or Gary Francione, perhaps the foremost contemporary animal rights thinkers, preferring to conflate some of the activities of militant activists with general animal advocacy, and suggests that the position of one or two individuals are the generalised view of all.

The position of Toolis is almost exactly mirrored by that of Clare Fox of the so-called 'Institute of Ideas'. In 2001, Radio's Moral Maze 'team', including Fox, discussed 'animal rights'. In language reflecting conventional attitudes, Fox states that a rights view must 'denigrate our view of humanity'. This is because, she claims, non-human rights intimates that 'we' humans are in a reductive sense 'no better than animals'. Panelist Roger Scruton, the 'fox-hunting philosopher', could make little sense of fundamental rights without a connection to duties. For him, this simply rules out non-human rights. Even though the programme

was allegedly an exploration of animal rights, and included a lengthy contribution from Andrew Tyler of Animal Aid, once again the discourse frequently turned to the precepts of animal welfarism in order to talk about human/non-human relations. Scruton had no difficulty in understanding humanity's 'duty of care' toward non-humans. Thus, he said, 'due care' should be taken when 'killing animals for food'. Scruton adds - as if reading from a script - non-human animals should not be subjected to 'unnecessary suffering': we must treat them 'humanely'.

The apparent general inability to differentiate genuine rights arguments from welfare positions can result in some commentators making outrageously inaccurate observations. Some such inaccuracies appear to stem from the complexities of differentiation, rather than being the product of a deliberate debunking of the animal rights stance. Nevertheless, such confusion can result in a serious misrepresentation of genuine animal rights ideas. For example, in a piece about animal activists who openly express 'militant' views, the leader comment in the New Scientist of December 1998, presumes for no apparent reason that animal advocacy must have some intrinsic connection with 'loving' non-human beings. The article declares that, 'Those at the core [of the ALF] seem to be motivated as much by a hatred of society as any love for animals'.

The writer seemingly cannot conceive of the reason why some activist 'leaders' regard pets as 'slaves'. The conclusion is drawn that this view is extremism, way out of step with 'appropriate' mainstream positions: animal welfarism. 'We need a "peace process"', the writer continues, 'where the many people concerned about animal welfare can express their views democratically and the extremists can be seen for what they are'. Perhaps it may be taken as given that the phrase 'seen for what they are' does not mean, 'not adherents of traditional animal welfarism', and does not mean 'animal advocates who may stress non-traditional welfare/liberation or animal rights views'. It seems clear that it means being regarded as 'human-hating extremists', among those who fail to adhere to any 'normal' orientation toward other animals. That is, being apparently concerned with 'loving' them as ordinary people 'love' their pets; being interested in their welfare-in-use as every vivisectionist and circus owner claims to be; and interested in what some of them taste like, once 'humanely' slaughtered.

Similar confusion, although contradictory in part, was present in a Daily Telegraph 'opinion column' of December 9th 1998, in another piece discussing Barry's strike. Suggesting that 'we should learn to balance human need with proper animal welfare', the writer declares that 'Horne has turned animal welfare into animal warfare', which may be neat journalese but carelessly misses out on an attempt to understand the perspective of the animal advocate in question. Quite mistakenly the claim is made that 'animal rights' campaigners will

not 'launch a crusade against carnivores, who make up 93% of the population'. This wholly erroneous statement would greatly surprise both Animal Aid and VIVA! One might expect that even the laziest of journalists could log on to a web page or two in order to inform themselves about the issues they so confidently pontificate upon.

It is possible to provide many similar examples of mass media comment. They mislead and distort, and the vast majority display little understanding about what animal rights actually means as a philosophical idea. A common factor in each is a strong ideological orientation towards orthodox animal welfarism. Are there lessons to learn from this investigation? As claims-makers, social movements are engaged in bringing about (or resisting) socio-political change. Even moderately radical social movement activity involves challenging existing norms and values. Clearly, in the field of animal advocacy, holding anything other than an entirely conventional view about human/non-human relations means standing for a radical alteration in those relations.

In advocating veganism, in opposing every vivisection experiment, in standing against zoos, circuses and blood-sports, advocates place themselves outside most orthodox values on such issues. Not surprisingly, therefore, the mass media will present us as 'other', 'outsider' and 'deviant'. What to do? Abandon public education as a strategy; seek to conform to some oppressive social values in order to 'fit in' a little; or continue to make a substantial and principled challenge to orthodoxy?

Angela McRobbie takes a rather more positive view of the relationship between social movements and the media than is generally the case. She claims that social movements 'can' get an adequate hearing in the modern mass media and therefore successfully 'challenge the voices from the top.'

ii Halloran and others, investigating the 1960s anti-Vietnam war demonstrations, found that largely peaceful demonstrations were characterised as violent in subsequent press coverage with little or no elaboration of the aims and beliefs of the demonstrators, and little or no coverage of the speeches given at rallies. Exactly the same complaint has been made recent by 'moderate Muslims' demonstrating about a series of cartoons printed in various Western media.

iii This type of position prompted Francione to include a chapter in his book *Introduction to Animal Rights* entitled: 'Vivisection: A Trickier Question'.

iv Here Greer reasserts her oft-repeated notion that acceptance of 'animal rights' would eliminate the use of 'beasts of burden', leading to an increase in the incidence of women (obviously mainly in 'developing' countries) having to fetch and carry. Ironically, this charge of distraction or diversion from primary aims has been made against second-wave feminism by Leftist writers.





# ALF

# THE EARLY YEARS

**PART 1**

*in memory of all  
those left behind*



A thorough analysis of the ALF is beyond the remit of a modest publication such as this. In this issue, we attempt merely to summarise in the first of two parts the growth of the direct action movement within the UK (unanimously agreed to be the birthplace of the ALF) as part of Arkangel's ongoing examination of the history and impact of direct action and its influence on the animal rights movement and its philosophy. Examples detailed provide only a selection of actions sourced from documented accounts available at the time of writing.

*'The first time I saw Pennsylvania Primates at a public screening, I knew my life would never - could never - be the same again. The first time I broke the law I had no doubt that what I was doing was morally right. The first friend that I lost - a young woman with whom I had taken part in a number of raids - was beautiful, articulate, and talented. I remember us running breathlessly through woods in broad daylight, with beagles cradled in our arms. I remember the exhilaration, knowing that these dogs would never again feel pain or be made to suffer. The dogs didn't struggle once, or make a sound. I'm certain that they knew it was important. The night before she took her life, several of us had walked across fields to getaway cars, with armloads of cages bursting with rats and mice and gerbils liberated from a laboratory. When we parted, we hugged, rejoicing at having brought every single animal there to safety. It was the last time I was to see her. I grieved her passing as I have grieved the passing of others since, but I realised when she died that there were three choices available to those fighting for animal rights: you get crushed under the weight of despair; you turn your back and do nothing; or you toughen up and you fight, whatever method you choose or you feel is the right path. The last choice is the only one worth considering, even if the price that you pay is high.'* Anon



### LifeScience - Operation Valentine 1982

The animal liberationist might rightly be defined as any vegan or vegetarian who sidesteps the law to prevent an act of cruelty taking place against a non-human animal. With that as a benchmark, the acts of many past - and future - liberationists have gone, and will go, unrecorded. While the origins of the animal liberation movement go back far further than ALF 'records' would suggest, direct action became an important part of the wider animal protection movement during the 1960s, and has continued to play a significant role in widening the passionately-contested debate about animal rights. Indeed, in some very significant cases, direct action can be regarded - whether you agree with it or not - as having been the catalyst in the demise of an animal abuse establishment or industry, and will no doubt continue to exert an influence for some time to come.

Direct actions have been widely diverse over the years, from raids on animal abuse establishments, liberations, hoaxes, letter-bombs, and arsons to name but a few, all of which have cumulatively caused losses

totalling millions of pounds, but more importantly have been directly instrumental in saving thousands of animals from certain death. Most actions since the late 1970s to date (aside from those of the Leagues, whose remit was slightly different [1]) have been claimed by the ALF, though some have been occasionally claimed by short-lived splinter groups going under a variety of names.

Although 'the ALF is often conceived of as an organisation - not least because, for the lazy thinker, it lends itself to such a perspective - ... it is more of an idea/ideal. As the saying goes: don't ask what the ALF is, you are the ALF'. [2] Structure, authority and organisation are antithetical to the ALF's core ideology. Activist cells are autonomous and spring up independently: actions are self-determined and claimed by many around the world under the generic name of The Animal Liberation Front. The spirit of the Front has at its centre the belief in the rights and freedoms of the individual and a rejection of the sublimation and enslavement thereof; it is a moral stand



taken by the individual human on behalf of the individual non-human, and their inalienable right to freedom (and all that is implicit in that word). According to ALF 'guidelines', if such they can be called, the ALF 'liberate animals from places of abuse... to inflict economic damage on those who profit from the misery and exploitation of animals... and to take all

necessary precautions against harming any animal, human or nonhuman'. [ibid]

'Animal rights activists are as a rule generally described by the establishment as violent mindless thugs who emerge solely to do something shocking to someone undeserving' [3], thus distorting and transposing the issue of 'innocence' and 'victim' away from the real victims who die in

their millions. 'The media campaign aimed at distorting their image is designed to divert from what they have to say and the positive good they do' [ibid]. It succeeds in objectifying activists as 'things' (in much the same way that animals are objectified), reducing them to single dimensional masks of lunatic evil, without conscience or compassion, and without the capacity for



Greyhound – shown here with friend - liberated from Royal College of Surgeons in 1983





### Scottish Wildcat release

rational thought or reason. For those able to put faces to the lunatic masks, this perception is utterly misleading, since a prevailing number of them are articulate, well-rounded individuals whose ethics are generally based on the principle: 'first do no harm', and whose ideology embraces human rights issues, social injustice, and the environment to name but a few.

### THE EARLY DAYS: HSA AND THE BAND OF MERCY

From its early beginnings, the Hunt Saboteurs Association (set up by journalist John Prestige in 1964 after he saw a pregnant doe savaged by hounds) swiftly attracted followers around the country. It is largely credited with being the precipitating force which gave birth to the broader direct action 'field of engagement' that began to gather momentum in the decade that followed and spread its influence beyond the issues of hunting to animal abuse targets across the abuse spectrum.

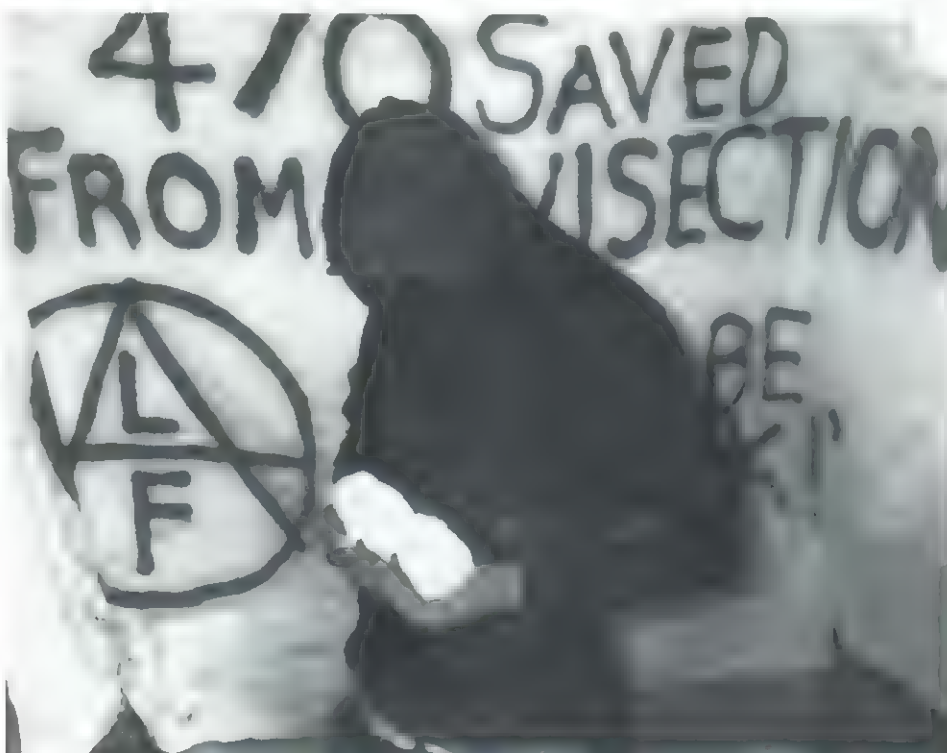
From the mid 1960s to the early 1970s 'the animal liberation movement focused on the very public English spectacle of fox hunting, with small groups of saboteurs - and crucially infiltrators - making it their business to mess things up. Hunt sabotage played a significant role in building the modern animal liberation movement and proved an ideal recruiting ground for the ALF, providing an environment where activists met like-minded people whom they could trust with their lives. In being confronted by violence and

extraordinary police tactics, activists were forced to review their methods in a steep learning curve that was to prove useful in the more covert future operations of the ALF'. [3]

A cross-filtration gradually began to take place: those campaigning against other forms of animal abuse joined hunt saboteurs because it gave them an opportunity to be active outside the arena of protest marches and demos, while those involved with hunt-hitting started campaigning against other forms of animal suffering. Direct action began to gather momentum.

In the early 1970s, there was an established Northampton HSA group, which went out on its own or with other HSA groups, hitting hunts in the Midlands and Anglia regions or joining massive joint hits, mainly against West Country hunts. Trainee solicitor Ronnie Lee, who was to become the spearhead of the ALF, was among the hunt saboteurs who took part in these mass hits after becoming involved in 1972. He was especially incensed by cub hunting, which trains young foxhounds to get a taste for blood. The usual methods of laying false trails, and spraying to mask the fox scent were an ineffective preventative against cub slaughter. Frustrated with the limitations he could see in hunt sabotage, he and a few others began to adopt more radical methods of disruption. Ronnie's answer to dealing with this problem was to damage hunt vehicles on the eve of a hunt meet. It seemed inevitable that the activities of this small, dedicated splinter group would give way to the trend to extend beyond the scope of hunting and into the wider arena of animal abuse.

And so it was that by 1973, the activists, now under the newly formed Band of Mercy [4] had widened their scope. They set fire on two separate occasions over a six-day period to the Hoechst Pharmaceuticals laboratory (then under construction near Milton Keynes), causing up to £50,000 in damage. Ronnie Lee explained the motive was 'to prevent the torture and murder of our animal brothers and sisters by evil experiments...we are a non-violent guerrilla organisation dedicated to the liberation of animals from all forms of cruelty and



Tuck & Son - 11th Sept 1994



persecution at the hands of mankind. Our actions will continue until our aims are achieved'.

In 1974, the group destroyed two boats used for licensed seal culls in The Wash in East Anglia. One vessel was completely destroyed, and the other severely damaged by fire in their moorings on the River Nene at Sutton Bridge with the result that Roy Jenkins, the then Home Secretary, announced that no more licenses were to be issued for seal culls (a ruling which has held good to this day).

The HSA publicly distanced themselves from the actions of the Band of Mercy, who continued between June and August of 1974 with a run of eight actions against laboratories and animal suppliers, including the first animal 'rescue', though in the main targeting vehicles used by laboratory animal breeders. It was during one such action that two activists - Ronnie Lee and Cliff Goodman - were caught by police, and were subsequently sentenced. During their incarceration, Mike Huskisson took up the group's mantle, and liberated two 'smoking

beagles', although this was the only significant action in the UK. After serving a year, Lee and Goodman were released and went their separate ways.

### THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT

Ronnie left prison determined that he would follow the route that he believed would ensure that the animals would be best served. He and a number of other individuals ready to develop the tactics of the Band formed the ALF 'under the banner of the activities, philosophies and success "of the Band of Mercy" ... The name-change was in many ways a public relations exercise: to tap into the generally positive public reception of the Band and present a "group" whose name was parallel to its remit: of uncompromised animal liberation'. [2] The influence of the 'group's' activities on the international scene was to be far-reaching and to have a lasting effect on the global picture.

'In its first year of activism, the ALF caused £200,000+ in damage striking at a panoply

of targets, including breeders, butchers, and vivisectionists. Ambitiously the headquarters of the Research Defence Society was raided, which was to reveal that Lee (and his cohorts) were listed by the RDS in its files as threats to watch out for. Not long after this Lee was arrested again and spent eight months inside following a raid on a breeding facility in Surrey. His high profile meant that Lee would restrict his activities to public relations (as the first ALF press officer) - or at least he claimed he would do so. At the time it was estimated that the ALF were conducting six actions a night, a figure the police thought conservative. Lee was delighted: "to advocate anything less than a war when faced with the brutal tyranny of the human race against all other creatures is a form of treachery against the animals". In 1977 there were 14 raids in England. More notable, perhaps, was a graveyard desecration purported to be the responsibility of animal activists. Breaking into St Kentigern's Church, a masked group - Mike Huskisson was later identified as a likely mastermind - stole the gravestone of John Peel the notorious hunter. Only 24 at the



## Raiders say these are the stolen dogs

THESE photographs of the six dogs stolen from a Cambridge animal research unit earlier this week have been released by the Animal Liberation Front in the hope the dogs will be recognised and claimed.

The Front, which has claimed responsibility for the raid on the Central Animal Services premises at Laundry Farm, Barton Road, Newnham, has claimed that the dogs have been stolen off the streets for vivisection.

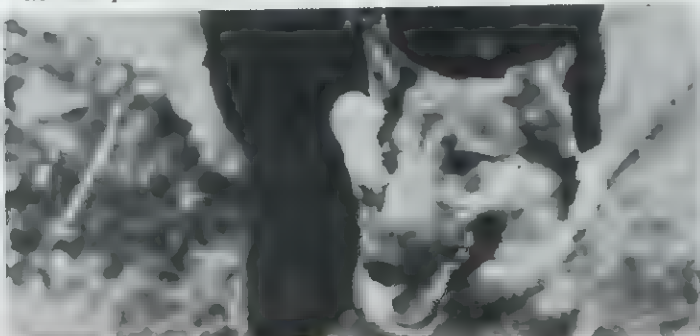
Antivivisectionists released the dogs from their pens at the farm in a well-

executed raid on Monday evening.

A letter on behalf of the dogs was sent to top transplant surgeon, Prof Roy Calne, at Addenbrooke's Hospital.

It said: "We wish to say that we did not give consent for our organs to be transplanted, and we have therefore escaped with the Animal Liberation Front."

Director of Central Animal Services, Mr Maurice Smith, said that the dogs were to be used for haemophilia, transplant and cancer research, but he said that the animals were bought from reputable suppliers.







time, Mike was to face an 8-month sentence. At this point Animal Liberation was exported across the Atlantic and throughout the continent: activists masquerading as lab workers liberated

beagles from the New York Medical Center; "Commando Lynx" in France rescued 57 dogs; 48 dogs were carried away from Glasgow Technical College, etc. The late seventies also saw Paul Watson taking to the seas and the beginnings of environmental militancy in the form of Earth First! [ibid]

2003 and it didn't happen by accident - it happened because decent thinking people made it happen.' [3]



**Winches Farm - St Albans  
July 22nd 1982**

'One of the earliest recorded liberation raids took place in Scotland in the autumn of 1976 and saw hundreds of foxes freed to take their chance in the Highlands. Those in the movement sought to remind the media, farmers, small holders and bird watchers that long before masked activists began raiding fur farms, farmers themselves - now hysterical about their profits rushing for the hills and streams - had created the well-established wild mink population by releasing animals they'd imported from North America long before and by failing to prevent regular break-outs.

It matters little what the reality of a few hundred extra mink in the wild means to chicken farmers if your vision for the future is a world without exploited animals, because just over 20 years after the first farm raid, fur farmers themselves were begging for a ban on fur farming so they could grab some compensation and get out of the firing line. Fur farming was banned by law in the UK in



**Hyline Rabbits - Cheshire 1986**



## THE EIGHTIES RAIDS

'In the early 1980s, the rather random small-scale targeting of centres of abuse - butchers, vivisection labs and so on - gave way to a more coordinated and focused approach, in some cases, with large groups of activists from across the social spectrum invading pharmaceutical labs en masse to gather evidence and expose the grizzly secrets that were kept hidden from public scrutiny.' [ibid]

Although in the main, the ALF tended towards a cellular approach, some of these early raids involved as many as a few hundred people. The downside of this approach for activists was that it facilitated arrests, and although the approach was used for the most part successfully by the Leagues, it was short-lived in the main since those targeted soon got wise and improved on their security. 'The "mass raids" were a product of their times: they were conducted during an era when the police and other relevant authorities had far less interest in animal extremists than they have today (after all, the methods of ALF were something of a paradigmatic shift ... for a country used to centuries of tame, reformist protest. When the UK was fighting the IRA threat, onto the scene crashed these curious, bunny-hugging radicals. And, in cases when little effort was needed to enter a target, what crime had actually been committed?).' [2]

There is no doubt that the Robin Hood approach captured public imagination, and garnered their sympathy, so it was inevitable that liberationists became more than just a perceived threat to the infrastructure, but one that in the longer term was to be challenged by the authorities with an increasingly iron fist. Meanwhile, however, public support increased 'in no small part because of the screening of *The Animals Film* on the newly launched Channel 4, which piped the reality of animal abuse in all its horror into living rooms for the first time. Coupled with headline news coverage of masked raiders rescuing animals from laboratories, the movement took a turn for the mainstream and started to worry the powers that be'. [3]

With each such disclosure about what was actually happening, and with the release of real images of the animals whose plight had been thus far rendered largely invisible by the conspiracy of the vivisection industry, 'vivisection fast became a new by-word in the vocabulary of the British public and it wasn't thanks to the wealthy RSPCA, but radical focused activists on the frontline'. [3] Indeed, one could argue that it was due to



### Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital

the actions of the ALF that certain issues such as vivisection and fur actually got significant 'air time'; the unprepared opposition were unable to respond with an effective counter offensive, and so what the public saw at this time were the emotive images of animal suffering or the 'rhetoric of sadism' [2]. (By the late 1980s, the real war of words was to start as the opposition began to disseminate their counter propaganda about the necessity for vivisection to ensure the survival of our species!).

Those taking part in raids were - apart from breaking the law by liberating animals - law-

abiding individuals. The nature of the attacks were somewhat ad hoc (and sometimes unusual - on one occasion in the early 80s, a Scottish Wildcat was liberated from a zoo and released back into its natural habitat), but there was always the understanding that there was a real risk factor in the undertaking of such raids, even if sentences for those caught breaking the law were relatively minimal by today's standards. If a 'professional' criminal approach was often lacking, ingenuity was not. In the main, it must be said, bolt croppers were on the whole a reliable stand-by as security systems at that time were not considered vital by those whose activities had largely





### Hunt Retribution Squad

been shielded from the public gaze to date.

In the first week of February 1982, activists besieged Safepharm in broad daylight forcing doors and windows open, and running off with liberated rabbits - all of which was filmed by journalists. Operation Valentine, as it was known, took place several days later, generating huge publicity. It proved to be the last large-scale daylight raid of its kind, but it is remembered to this day for its sheer audacity and has provided the movement with one of its more famous iconic images of an activist carrying a beagle puppy to safety.

At 3.00pm on Valentine's Day, 14th February 1982, the back gate of Life Science Research of Stock in Essex was cut, letting in the first wave of activists who were to besiege the compound. Once inside, masked raiders issued instructions as to who should go where, while demonstrators gathered at the front gate. A

new animal transport vehicle was smashed, along with every window in the place; nine beagle puppies and a large number of rats and mice were liberated, and £76,000-worth of laboratory equipment was destroyed. The police arrived at 3.15 pm, but by then, the activists had already disappeared, along with all the animals.

As a direct result of the action, the company lost a £30,000 order, and some 100 people were made redundant (though some sources put this figure at a more modest 40). The raid received huge press coverage, of the sort one would never expect to see in the current climate, which perceives animal liberation as a term to be vilified, and every protestor as an 'animal lib loony' and 'terrorist' intent on the victimisation of the innocent. Indeed, the Daily Mirror and the Star went so far as to describe the company as being a bunch of mercenary murderers. (How times have changed) The raid resulted in the conviction over a year later of eight

activists, who were imprisoned for between 21 days and 15 months, while a further 9 were fined and ordered to do community service.

'A raid on Boots labs in Nottingham at midnight on June 19th 1982 gave the movement a focal point in the form of an identifiable high street 'brand name' and attracted further support. Few could have failed to be moved by the images of the 12 doe-eyed beagles who had been doomed to a life undergoing experiments, now safe in the arms of animal liberators.' [3]

The well-known chemists - who had for many years strongly denied testing their cosmetics on animals - had a breeding centre at Thurgaton in Nottingham (as well as a larger facility in the centre of the town), and the rescued dogs had been used in lengthy experiments into heart disease. 'There were over 100 beagles at the centre, kept in filthy cages, which obviously had not been cleaned out for a considerable length of time. The males (there were 8 dogs and 4 bitches) had had the carotid artery externalised to make it easier for the researchers to carry out tests on them.' [5] Following a veterinary examination, it was disclosed that although the animals were probably between 3-5 years old, the condition of their internal organs tended to contradict this, suggesting that the dogs were considerably older; the professional opinion was that this deterioration was attributable to the experiments to which they had been subjected.

On July 22nd 1982, an ALF cell liberated six cats from Winches Farm (in Hatfield Rd, St Albans, Hertfordshire), a field station for The London School of Hygiene and Tropical



### Hunt Retribution Squad





### **Buckfold Rabbits Fur Farm - West Sussex 15th July 1986**

Medicine. It was believed that the animals were either due to undergo experiments or were being used in a breeding programme. Various animals were used in research at the laboratory, including calves, monkeys, rabbits and cats; experiments typically involved the infection of animals with various parasites and tropical diseases.

1982 also saw the appearance of ARM (the Animal Rights Militia), which professed to be prepared to use more extreme tactics in the furtherance of the cause than were 'permissible' within the non-violent ALF code. The group sent letter bombs to vivisectioners and politicians: one caused minor injury to a civil servant, and there was

some speculation at the time, as now, that they were a government agent provocateur construct.

One of the key direct actions the following year was that on Laundry Farm. On Monday, 3rd January 1983, members of the ALF rescued six 'non-purpose bred' dogs in a well-planned raid on the Farm, which was Cambridge University's animal holding unit. Among the dogs rescued were a German Shepherd, a Golden Spaniel and Rhodesian Ridgeback as well as crossbreeds, all of whom had quite plainly been 'pets' and were reported to respond to standard words of 'command' and stick-throwing. The raid highlighted - albeit not for the first time - that

it was the Government-funded laboratories such as universities and hospitals that created the lucrative market for pet-stealing rackets. Professor Roy Calne, Cambridge University transplant 'expert', was the vivisectioner for whose knife these six dogs had been destined [7]. The following is a personal account of the night's events.

'For some time before the raid on Laundry farm, there had been rumours that Professor Calne, the organ transplant surgeon working at Addenbrooke's Hospital in Cambridge, had been using mongrel dogs in his experiments, and that they were kept in a place called Laundry Farm somewhere on the outskirts of the town.

Six of us - all women - discussed the possibility of liberating these dogs with the help of a whistleblower (aka 'Jim'), and met on a number of occasions to discuss plans prior to any actual liberation attempt, including the organising of safe temporary homes. Crucially, although it was immaterial in "real" terms to us or the dogs whether they were "purpose bred" or not, the team considered that it would be a good opportunity to disprove the vivisection industry's insistent claims that they never use strays or dogs from sources such as rescue centres.

It was a cold January night when our group set off in a convoy of cars, which we parked in a deserted side road; looking across a ploughed field, we could see the Laundry Farm buildings in the distance. The activists - all novices - were of differing ages, and it proved difficult for some of the older women to keep up the pace as they set off across the field, clutching collars and leads; speed and stealth were essential factors in the success of the operation. The farmhouse proper was detached from the building housing the dogs, and we hoped that our arrival would not start them barking.

We needn't have worried - all was quiet as 'Jim' climbed onto the roof of the unit and let himself in through the skylight. Within moments, he opened the door and let us in - even then, the dogs didn't make a sound. We were nervous as we entered, not knowing what we would find there. As our eyes adjusted to the dark, we saw two rows of pens, each pen containing one dog. Each of the dogs sat cowering in the corner of their pen as 'Jim' opened them one at a time, until all of us had a dog safely on collar and lead, ready to leave the building.

But there was one dog left - one little white dog we noticed who was still in her pen, staring through the bars with wide, frightened eyes. One of us begged that we take her with us; she seemed ill, unlike the



other dogs. 'Jim', who knew the dogs well, said we would have to leave her, which we did with heavy hearts. Our parting shot was to leave a note saying:

"We do not give permission for our organs to be used for transplant so we are leaving with The Animal Liberation Front".

Making our way back to the cars in boots thick with mud was heavy going, but it's safe to say that whether or not the dogs knew they were being rescued, they were certainly happy to be out: they bounced across the field, their tails wagging, dragging us in their wake.

We were back in the cars by 2.00am, and left unnoticed on the final leg of our journey; the sound of sirens which we dreaded hearing never came, and by the following day, the story had made front-page national headlines, showing the photographs we had taken of all the dogs, including the one we had left behind. One thing was certain: all of them had at one time or another been household "pets"; they put their paws up to shake hands, played with balls and interacted with humans just like any companion dog - something one simply wouldn't find in laboratory/purpose bred

dogs, who do not have the socialisation with humans and therefore tend to be extremely nervous and mistrustful of people, and can take months to trust and accept them after they have been liberated.

These six dogs were the lucky ones, but what of the seventh, who had been considered too ill to move? And what of the ones that would take their place...?'

The extensive media coverage that followed resulted in a huge surge of enquiries to the BUAV from the public, who had lost animals and whose fate they now feared may have been that of the Laundry Farm Six.

But the clock kept ticking, and there were always more animals to be saved. A small victory was not a battle won and actions continued to increase. Hundreds of guinea pigs were liberated from Porcellus Animal Breeders Ltd of Horam in Sussex on 1st May 1983. They had been kept without bedding, food or water. During the same week, ALF cells carried out a Day of Action against the fur trade: in three separate co-ordinated nationwide raids, a total of 163 rabbits were rescued, and fur traders' headquarters were attacked.

In early August the same year, a further 17 'non-purpose bred' dogs - including collies, greyhounds and various crossbreeds - were liberated from Laundry farm. They had undergone major surgery, many of them recently, and the very basic suturing of the wounds suggested that it had not been undertaken by a skilled surgeon; indeed, by the time the ALF gained access into the unit, two dogs were found already dead. The activists reported that all the dogs had been 'kept in small, bare concrete cages in a room with no natural light. There were only pellets to eat and no bedding at all. Several animals had undergone very recent major surgery and had been left on the concrete floor with huge wounds to the stomach, roughly stitched, unattended for the night. Two of the dogs were already dead. Although several must have been in considerable pain from their wounds, they were quiet with their rescuers, and most managed to walk to the transport - some literally dragged the people along. Some dogs had been in the unit for two years'. [6]

Calne spoke up a second time in defence of his work, this time saying that the dogs would all die agonising deaths within a few days if they did not receive Cyclosporin 'A',



Hamers Farm - Bolton 1989



the drug he had been giving them [7]. Well over a month later, the Sunday Mirror published their photos, disproving Calne's earlier statements.

On October 1st 1983, the ALF liberated six dogs (five greyhounds and a lurcher, of whom four were ex-racers and two ex-pets) in a raid on an animal experimental unit run by The Royal College of Surgeons at Downe, Kent. (The use of animals at the College was widespread and researchers at the laboratory were known to have been carrying out transplant experiments - including the transplantation of artificial organs - on both non-'purpose' bred dogs and pigs). After cutting through the perimeter fence and a set of inner gates, the activists forced entrance into the building by using a crowbar to open a small side window. While two lookouts with walkie-talkie radios (and yes, technology then wasn't what it is today!) were positioned outside, the activists found more animals than they had expected, all of whom had been kept on bare concrete floors without food, water or bedding. This was neither the first nor the last time that activists were to be forced to make heart-breaking choices, but because of difficulty of access (ie window), several pigs and a German shepherd who had recently been vivisected on and was considered too ill to move could not be saved. A dilemma that has confronted many, the success of the raid was one that combined a sense of guilt at failing those left, and jubilation that those rescued would soon thrive and live out their natural lifespan in loving homes.

'By 1984, ALF activists were being credited with six actions a night and managing a thousand activists nationwide. Some began experimenting with tactics that were less media-friendly than liberations, with their heart-warming images of masked raiders holding lab beagles close to their chests. These new tactics, such as the contamination of shampoos with bleach, the poisoning of frozen turkeys or Mars bars, while obviously unlikely to generate widespread public support, were intended primarily to intimidate animal abusers and draw attention to what they do to animals.' [3]

In June 1984, members of the ALF broke into the Royal National Orthopaedic hospital in Stanmore, Middlesex, known to have carried out experiments on dogs and ducks, and to have laboratory facilities used by the then Wellcome Foundation. They liberated eight goats, all of whom were found in a neglected state, some with torn and infected ears; their rear legs had been shaved and their joints were swollen, suggesting that



**Nuneham Courtney - 24th Dec 1990 - Oxford University Cat breeding Unit**

research had already been carried out on some of them, or that they were scheduled for imminent vivisection.

So, on the one hand, ALF liberations continued while, on the other hand, some activists began to experiment with hoax tactics. The infamous Mars bar hoax of 1984 fuelled wildly exaggerated media publicity about the threat that the ALF action posed to the public. Mars at the time was using various contract-testing laboratories to carry out experiments into tooth decay, and the poison hoax was a pretty direct way to target the company, hitting it where it would hurt most and in a way that would publicise its involvement in vivisection. The activists sent several poisoned bars to the media, and claimed that a further undisclosed number had been re-distributed at random in various

stores. The company could not take the possible risk to the public, and was forced to withdraw its stock, at a massive loss totalling in excess of £3 million. It took some 3-4 months for sales to return to pre-hoax levels, proving that - with relatively little effort - a hoax could be devastating to a targeted company's profits.

As part of the growing trend to view the animal rights phenomenon as a potentially destabilising influence on the social infrastructure, that same year Scotland Yard responded to the Mars bar episode by setting up the ARNI (Animal Rights National Index). What that actually meant was that activists were on the right track - or as one writer succinctly put it: 'The more they reacted, the better.' [3] ARNI was headed by Colin Hoyer, who supervised a squad of





**New Bridge Farm - Liverpool 1986**

about a dozen police officers and was based at Scotland Yard in London. Many police forces outside London had their own animal rights liaison officers who dealt directly with ARNI. ARNI's principle role was to keep tabs on those whom they suspected of being involved in direct action; one of their favourite toys was the tracking device, which they attached to cars thus enabling them to track the vehicles from a distance away while avoiding detection.

1984 also saw CALL's famous Oxford raid [1], the fall of the NALL [1], and the rise of the short-lived Hunt Retribution Squad (HRS). Formed after saboteur Eddie Coulson had his skull cracked open by a hunt follower, the HRS was in principle a PR exercise, which gratified media hunger for proof of animal rights violence, whilst providing a vehicle in which to publicise the threat that no animal abuser was safe. The only action to be claimed under the HRS name was the partial desecration of the Duke of Beaufort's grave, which proved somewhat impenetrable due to freezing conditions at the time; it resulted in the arrest and conviction of two activists, Terry Helsby and John Curtin, for criminal damage.

On Wednesday 17th July 1985, an ALF raid all but destroyed the farm of laboratory animal dealer A Tuck in Battlesbridge, Essex, where up to 20,000 rats, mice and guinea pigs were kept at any one time. In the previous 18 months, the farm had already been targeted three times when many animals had been liberated. As a result of said incursions, the security system had been updated, so access was gained via a hole drilled through the double-skinned door, bypassing the alarm system. This time, activists focussed on damaging equipment to the tune of £10,000. The germ-free environment was compromised by opening all doors and showers to the animal houses, where the activists had found animals sealed into boxes without food or water, ready for 'dispatching' to their various destinations. Valuable documentary evidence was removed, with details of Tuck's client base, which included Wellcome, Eli Lilly, Beechams, Safepharm, numerous universities and previously unknown laboratories. Activists later made use of headed stationery to cancel orders, sack the security firm, order cement, and further, to notify Tuck's clients of the raid. A further raid was to take place in 1994.

'During 1986, in a year when - among numerous other raids - pigs were liberated from New Bridge Farm in Liverpool, rabbits from Hyline Rabbits in Cheshire, and hens





### Dingles 1988

from Hamers Farm in Bolton, the Special Branch started to focus on the movers and shakers within the ALF, who had begun to concentrate on a radically different approach.' [3]

On April 19th 1986, activists broke into a unit of NESCOT (North East Surrey College of Technology), from which every animal was removed. The ALF cell liberated over 300 mice, rats, gerbils and hamsters, removed files documenting genetic and maternal deprivation experiments, and caused thousands of pounds worth of damage.

On 15th July 1986, a 3-strong Sussex ALF cell broke into Buckfold Rabbits Fur Farm in Toatfield, West Sussex. Parking out of sight in a field opposite the farm, the activists cut through the barbed-wire fence, and entered the battery unit, completely unprepared for the number of animals, the stench, the heat, and rotting corpses that faced them. They took photographic evidence of the conditions, ransacked the office for documents, damaged the telephone and sprayed the battery with slogans. Fifteen animals were rescued since the activists were of the opinion that they could only take the number for whom they had homes. The issue of ensuring that pre-arranged homes were available was a point severely contested by activists on a number of occasions, since failure to do so often resulted in one person being left with a houseful of animals to deal with after entire

units had been voided of animals. In a couple of cases, this oversight could be deemed to have been responsible for subsequent police raids on such a household, which thus provided not only the evidence needed to prosecute, but the catastrophic confiscation of the liberated animals, which were returned to the 'point of origin'.

The 1980s incendiary attack by a Merseyside ALF cell at Aintree racetrack, home to the Grand National, caused £100,000 of damage to the grandstand and was one of a number of incendiary attacks striking at the economic heart of the animal abuse system.

'The fur trade was a big focus of the animal rights movement combining demonstrations, picketing, raids on farms, the sabotage of shops and finally, a "sinister new development." (Not the author's words). This was a simple timed device made up of household products packed into a cigarette packet attached to a 9v battery, designed to ignite on a timer and cause fire in a department store. The aim of the device was very specific and certainly not intended as the media claimed to "bomb shoppers".' [ibid]

'The rationale behind this was simple: the profits from the sale of animal fur - only a small part of a department store intake - could be negated by a few incendiary

deposits. ... One result was the rapid abandonment of fur displays in all major department stores.' [ibid] This huge onslaught by the animal rights movement struck at numerous retail stores, including Debenhams, Lewis' and the House of Fraser. The timed devices were hidden in the stores during the day in a strategic position and late at night when the store was empty, they ignited, creating a small fire that triggered the sprinkler system. The economic damage was not caused by fire, or explosions, but by water. Alder's, heavily damaged by flooding, refused to remove its furs until six lorries were firebombed. Two days later, the store removed its fur 'for commercial reasons'. One incendiary attack at Debenhams store in Luton caused damage to the tune of millions, when the sprinkler system, which had been shut down for maintenance, did not activate. Four floors were gutted by fire and Debenhams lost £8 million in the final reckoning.

Another result of this campaign was the detection and imprisonment of a number of active cells.

'The campaign waged against the fur trade gave rise to the first of the penalties by the state on the growing liberation movement. In 1985 Andrew Horbury was told to brace himself for six months but was in fact sentenced to two years in prison for driving the getaway vehicle that was involved in the rescue of a pack of foxes from the





Cocksparrow fox farm in Warwickshire. The judge's comments and sentence were a warning sign that those who risked their home comforts as part of a coordinated campaign to help other animals were going to be severely punished if caught.

Clearly the firebombing of a department store was going to result in even stiffer sentences and the state really started throwing punches with the conviction of the Sheffield ALF and ALFSG volunteers in 1987 after a protracted high-profile conspiracy trial in the city, the conclusion of which was that a number of activists were given four-year prison sentences, with a massive ten years for Ronnie Lee, who was denounced by the state as the leader of the ALF. The trial was proof, were it needed, that the frontline of the animal liberation movement was a force with which the state felt it needed to reckon. It seemed that the debate about direct action was settled - and about what it could achieve beyond the scope of what was on offer from organisations such as Animal Aid and the RSPCA. So too was the question of an urgent need for a good prisoner support. The ongoing commitment to both is a testament to our strength; the support of prisoners and the replacement of activists became essential aspects of the animal liberation arm of the movement and continue to this day.

The imprisonment of large numbers of activists during the 1980s had an effect on the wider movement, leading some to question whether the risk factor of incarceration was really something they were prepared to consider. It was left to those on the front line committed to ending the horrors of animal abuse to pursue a method that had been clearly defined, regardless of the risk to their freedoms - a choice not available to their non-human brethren.' [3]

Economic sabotage continued despite the hefty sentences meted out in the Sheffield

trial. Throughout 1988, sabotage was fairly prominent, and in a pre-Christmas blitz, Dingles - the House of Fraser store in Plymouth - was destroyed by fire, while firebombs were planted in seven other premises. Liberations also continued: Nuneham Courtney (just outside Oxford and originally targeted by CALL in 1985 when 13 cats were liberated), which housed Oxford University's cat colony, was raided in 1990. On Christmas Eve, December 24th, all 64 cats 'in house' at the time - including 16 heavily pregnant queens, were liberated from the building. The raid was carefully planned, with the express remit being to remove all the animals - something that had proved impossible in the earlier CALL raid, which in effect had been a smash and grab raid, dictated by the police response time to the alarm system.

In order to avoid the security system, six ALF activists gained access through the asbestos roof by removing bolted panels, which gave onto the roof void. A hole was then made in the attic floor, through which the activists were able to enter each cage without disturbing the alarms on the steel doors. The whole raid from start to finish took 3-4 hours, and all the cats were taken to safety. Inevitably, official reports claimed that all the animals were doomed to die because they had no immunity, having been kept in 'controlled' conditions. The ALF repudiated this as utter nonsense, and said that the cats - distributed to good homes around the country - were 'as happy as sin' (!). A University spokeswoman denied that Professor Colin Blakemore, notorious for his extensive use of cats and primates in blinding experiments, was in any way connected with the experiments for which the animals had been destined, and defended the University's record on animal experimentation, which she alleged were stringently controlled in accordance with Home Office regulations. It seems that little has changed...

Oxford University's Park Farm was also targeted that year, having been the focus of numerous earlier raids in past years, including one in 1989, during which beagles 'worth' £10,000 had been rescued; this time, the ALF liberated five cats, 15 rabbits and 214 guinea pigs from the Oxford breeding centre in Northmoor, near Witney.

And so it was to continue into the 1990s. 'There can be no ignoring the fact that by then, the chickens had come home to roost ..., and it wouldn't be long before the media and police predictions that someone would die for the cause of a few animals would come to pass.' [3]

A further development towards the end of that decade was to be the growth of a 'one-two punch synchronicity between legal and illegal action'. [2] Actions became more sophisticated, and less haphazard, though, according to one author, in the process of becoming more streamlined, the ALF lost some of its vibrancy, and the compelling nature of the sheer audacity of its earlier actions, attributable, perhaps to the fact that 'economic sabotage can never be as visceral, as satisfying, as a well-planned, animal liberation'. [ibid]

[1] See past copies of *Arkangel*

[2] *Protaglia*

[3] Excerpts from an unpublished article by Keith Mann.

[4] *The Band of Mercy* was adopted from a title given by Catherine Smithies (an anti-slavery activist) during the 19th century to a youth wing of the RSPCA. Called the Bands of Mercy, these youth groups consisted of young RSPCA supporters who - in the main - told stories of heroic animal deeds and took oaths of compassion to the animals. But it seems that against the very 'proper' environment of the Victorian era, the spirit of social change and the recognition of social injustices encouraged reform and action: a number of these young Victorians proved to be liberationists at heart and went around sabotaging hunting rifles. Indeed, the activities of the Victorian Bands of Mercy became immortalised in a theatrical play in which a group of children sabotaged a hunting rifle. And so it was that *The Bands of Mercy* were re-activated in the 20th century by Ronnie Lee and his colleagues, and a number of actions were to take place under the banner of the Band until it was disbanded and reformed under a new name.

[5] ALF bulletin

[6] *Liberator*, October/November 1983

[7] Calne defended his work by saying that the dogs were needed for transplant work and cancer research - this presumably because he was using the drug Cyclosporin 'A' to prevent the rejection of transplanted organs, whilst the drug was known to be carcinogenic. (When administered in human patients, malignancies developed, which in some cases regressed once the drug was discontinued). The use of dogs in Calne's transplant study proved senseless in any case, since data research showed that unlike humans and most other species, dogs, who have a different metabolic pathway, appeared to reject transplants after 100 days, even where Cyclosporin 'A' had been administered.



'Resistance to the organised mass  
can be affected only by the one  
who is as well organised in his  
individuality as the mass itself.'

The Undiscovered Self by C J Jung

# the UNDISCOVERED SELF

Jung's somewhat prophetic *The Undiscovered Self* was first published in 1958, and argued that the plight of the individual in today's society was one of the greatest challenges that would have to be met, if the erosion of political, religious, moral and intellectual freedoms were not to be suffocated by and subjugated to the forces of a mass society. It was simple: powerful organisations are maintained only by the ruthlessness of their leaders and the cheapest of slogans; and in answer to that, there are two options open to us - either we believe implicitly what we are told, or we flatly reject it.

Jung argued that individual human beings - regardless of the pressures brought to bear upon them - inevitably and always rose up to assert their claim in the end, a fact that was graphically illustrated by the events behind the Iron Curtain during the 1980s, precipitated by the rise of the Polish Unions (*Solidarnosc*), and culminating in the symbolic fall of the Berlin Wall. Rising from within, the people became an ever-growing mass to assert their claims for freedom of choice and freedom from oppression.

In as much as this relates to us in the animal rights movement, holding a minority view (or lunatic and aberrant if you favour the slant overwhelmingly adopted by the media, abuse industries and government) is the trump that we hold, since it encourages us to use original thought to further its dissemination. Practically all trump cards are in the hands of our opponents. They can appeal to the big battalions and their crushing power. Politics, Science and Technology stand

ranged on their side' (Jung, *The Undiscovered Self*). Affecting change from outside the system would require a mass global revolution of unprecedented scale, such that it would be both unrealistic and frankly too fantastic to contemplate. Yet the advocating of a non-violent global revolution is implicit in the aims of the animal rights movement, a revolution in thinking, in ethics, behaviours, diets and the dynamics of power: that is to say, that the animal rights movement is about the inalienable right of ALL living things - human or non-human - to live a life free from suffering, pain, exploitation and servitude. It is about the importance of the INDIVIDUAL'S right to express those freedoms.

Within this context, with stakes against us so high, it is inevitable that the principled views in the vegan/animal rights ethic are difficult to disseminate in their integrity, since they cover a wide perspective of ideologies and belief systems across cultural and religious spectrums around the world, each of which requires a different approach in order to engender trust and cognitive acceptance of the fundamental logic therein. Different groups adopt different methodologies to outreach and appeal to these various enclaves within society - a fact that can lead to a fragmentation and dilution of the disseminated message, and weaken the solid foundation on which the movement's ideology is based.

A cursory look at the growth of the environmental movement proper, which arose from the demands of pressure

groups, suggests that a united front and uniformity of vision may have been a key factor in the overall acceptance of their aims, to the point of having been embraced as a subsidiary of any government politics. That this tends towards giving lip service to environmental issues, rather than moving towards real radical change and action to healing the global environment is self-evident, but it aptly illustrates that its absorption into the system has diluted its importance on the political road-map, and thus eroded the message of individuals, many of whom fill advisory capacities in a system that is essentially working against their aims.

The imperative message of radical environmentalists, who continue to use grassroots methods including sabotage, to highlight the issues, is thus effectively silenced by marginalisation and rendered invisible with grandiose, if empty, international gestures, which have little or no impact on the global picture. Witness the Kyoto Climate summit last year, in which no key issues were settled in the final stages, despite gloomy warnings from environmental experts around the world. Its failing and its fate on a fundamental level, despite its apparent acceptance, were ironically cemented by the fact that successive governments saw a growing need for some sort of appeasement to respond to the growth in the popular appeal of the environmental movement. Its sublimation provided a means of silencing louder opposition, enabling the destruction of the Gaia system to continue unchecked.



This is as much an issue for us in the animal rights movement, of which environmental issues are an inherent part, as it is for the green movement. How does the individual continue to sustain implicit belief in action as change, if the process of assimilation into the infrastructure of the status quo appears to doom the very ideals those individuals hold as an essential truth? It's a tricky business.

There is a megalithic opposition to the views we hold, since they threaten the very structure on which our societies are based. To meet any of the demands called for by true animal protection advocates would imply (as has been noted above) the dissolution of many of the global financial structures that depend wholly on the abuse of animals. These structures are designed to render the individual invisible.

The acceptance of environmental issues by the status quo was demonstrably less likely to incur unrest and opposition from individuals, businesses and multi-nationals than animal protection/rights issues. For example, carefully managed to do just enough to give the appearance that individuals and corporations could be made accountable for breaches in environmental law, the illusion could be maintained that governments were performing their duty for the greater good.

In the case of animal rights, their arguments hold to the premise that none of the changes that we consider imperative are for the greater good. Piecemeal offerings by business and legislation (closure of UK dolphinariums, short-term ostracising of fur, the banning of certain consumer products, the banning of fox-hunting, and wordy pre-election documents promising a 'new life for animals') change nothing in the wider scheme of things. In the end, it's not so much a case of 'what the public wants, the public gets' (Weller), but rather a question of the public getting whatever those in power deem is in the greater interest of the public good, a message that is continually underpinned by biased media reportage on the subject, which is designed to alienate the individual - the animal advocate - from the 'body'. 'We ought not to underestimate the psychological effect of the statistical world picture: it displaces the individual in favour of anonymous units that pile up into mass formations. Science supplies us with, instead of the concrete individual, the names of organisations and, at its highest point, the abstract idea of the state as the principal of political reality. The moral responsibility of the individual is then inevitably replaced by the policy of the state' (Jung, *The Undiscovered Self*).

**This continuing battle against widespread opposition uses valuable time and resources, and the animal rights movement does not have the luxury of either on its side. Accepting compromises - which some middle-of-the-road organisations would tend towards - is the first step towards a slippery slope to being absorbed by the state machinery: the inevitable conclusion of that is being 'assimilated'. One would argue that being pilloried is a sign that we are making waves.**

Working to change those dynamics from within a rigid state system that aims to limit freedoms further is the Catch 22 in which we perpetually find ourselves. 'Without giving rise to secret doubts, which are immediately repressed so as to avoid conflict with the prevailing trend towards mass-mindedness, the result as always in such cases, is over-compensation in the form of fanaticism, which in its turn is used as a weapon for stamping out the least flicker of opposition. Free opinion is stifled and moral decisions ruthlessly suppressed, on the plea that the end justifies the means, even the vilest...There is only one truth and beside it no other. It is sacrosanct and above criticism' (Jung, *The Undiscovered Self*).

Within the rigidity of any established 'bureaucracy', any minority group's views are subject to marginalisation, ridicule and oppressive punitive state measures. Since any state is burdened by the imperative of sustaining its power, it lacks originality in its approach and tends towards the same 'contain and control' methodology under which any government operates. But in a sense, that very burden is the advantage we have over state machinery, challenging as it does any campaigner to construct new ways to communicate and respond to challenges posed by the state's attempts to subvert original thought, to use what we as

individuals possess: the power of free thinking and ingenuity to re-present ways to assert the claims and truths of and for the individual, whether human or non-human.

The theorem behind any growing spark for change is usually based on the inalienable rights of man - and in the case of animal rights - the inalienable rights of all living beings. Attempts to stifle individual beliefs are a part of the state's function. 'Any economic principles...can be put into practise so long as you are prepared to accept the sacrifices they entail...So long as the power is intact - that is to say, so long as there is a well-fed police army in the offing - it can maintain its existence for an indefinitely long period and can go on increasing its power' (Jung, *The Undiscovered Self*). In the case of such forces, 'only one possibility remains, and that is the breakdown of power from within, which must, however, follow its own development' (Jung, *The Undiscovered Self*). Opposition by the state to these forces are mere sound and fury. 'Anyone who has learned to submit absolutely to a collective belief and to renounce his eternal right to freedom and the equally eternal duty of individual responsibility will persist in this attitude.' 'The will to individuality is regarded as egotistic obstinacy' (Jung, *The Undiscovered Self*), and must at all costs be quashed in order to further cement the security of any existing system.

Yet despite all this, in the end, there are always upright and truth-loving people to whom lying and tyranny are hateful, and whose disposition tends towards action. It is in appealing to their individuality and humanity that must be considered one of our greatest challenges. Changes for the good - or bad - often can only come from the personal encounter between individuals. Disseminating our message in intelligent, thought-provoking ways must be our goal, while maintaining a strong determination and vision that offers more than a mere 'patch' to fix things. How we go about this is down to us as individuals who are prepared to share ideas that coalesce across the board. Skin-deep change is impermanent and illusory - a sound-bite fashioned by the politics of the modern era. We should be wary of any compromises offered that look too good to be true. Invariably - like the never-to-be delivered promise of Labour's 'New Life for animals' - promises of change must be offered with real strategically-designed stopping posts, on the road to which, the end must justify the means. Any other offers are worthless.



# Rebel heart

**A.** Hi Kevin. Thanks for agreeing to be interviewed for this issue of Arkangel magazine, particularly given that you're under a huge amount of pressure with the ongoing court case over federal Animal Enterprise Terrorism charges. Despite this, your passion for the cause remains undiluted, and you are still inspiring others with your forceful approach. Can you tell us what has been for you the most defining moment in your involvement in the movement, and could you give us a brief potted history of how you came to be where you are today?

**KJ.** It all started with a beagle. Growing up, my best friend was this little beagle buddy named Barney. He and I did everything together. He would sleep in my bed and I would sleep in his. He would chew my toys, and sadly, I would chew his. He would eat my food - and that's where I drew the line. Barney was my first window into animal consciousness and taught me at a young age that while we were different animals with different abilities, we were equals when it came to experiencing pain and joy, loss and love. He was amazing.

Jump 10 years to high school, when I was investigating the alternatives to dissection in my anatomy and physiology course and found a PETA video about smoking experiments. The footage is famous and touched a nerve with many. It showed stressed little beagles, no different from my Barney, with their faces strapped to tubes covering their mouths - pumping their lungs full of carcinogenic smoke and toxins. It was awful and sparked a new level of awareness.

I was a lucky and privileged child. I grew up in a politically involved family. My father was a City Councilman for 8 years, and a Mayor for five. I remember helping him with his campaigns. At our dinner table we would have conversations ranging from Michael Dukakis and the death penalty to the political corruption of Oliver North and the Iran-Contra hearings. I was taught the altruism of volunteer work. In high school I joined Amnesty International; my school's social justice club took me to Tijuana, Mexico, to study the effects of the NAFTA-induced border crisis, and to Guatemala to learn of CIA-sponsored political corruption and dissident disappearances. It only took a

small spark to challenge me to extend my notions of ethical consideration and compassion to other non-human animals.

I remember first explaining to people that I was giving up fast food like McDonalds because they clear-cut rainforest lands for their grazing cattle. The boycott of fast food burgers then extended to all animal flesh as I began to see the bash-coloured muscle of the cats my classmates were dissecting in my turkey sandwich. Beyond ecological concerns, my social justice interest and stand for animals became more firm with my own education. I devoured all the classics from Singer and Reganto Robbins to Ingrid Newkirk's brilliant Free the Animals, and from that point, my college and post-college years became a blur of activities, arrests, and animal issues.

There is one defining moment for me, which shaped my opinion and role within this political movement forever. In May 1999, I was the poster-boy for domestic terrorism in my home state of Minnesota because, as a political science major with an accredited and professor-monitored internship at the Minnesota-incorporated ALF Press Office, I

**Kevin Kjonaas, one of the six SHAC US campaigners convicted on 2nd March this year for inciting harassment against Huntingdon Life Sciences, took time out before the hearing to give an exclusive interview with Arkangel. It makes for inspiring reading, which is given added gravitas, knowing that Kevin will be up for sentencing in the next few months**







spoke out in support of a major lab liberation at my school. Being demonized by a biased press was stressful, as was the string of death threats, but what shocked me and shook my faith in American democracy and the constitutionally protected civil liberties I thought I could enjoy was that 9 agents from the FBI broke into my apartment and ransacked it.

Raids of this nature, unlike in the UK, are very unusual (or at least they used to be) in the US. The FBI targeted me because I was the only voice to speak out and they had no other suspects. They robbed me of my clothing, schoolwork, and animal rights literature. Nothing they took was incriminating and I believe they knew this. Their intention in being there and the follow-up grand jury subpoena I was issued (by the FBI and the Minneapolis sheriff) in my Geology class was not about solving a crime, but punishing free speech. This was evidenced in how one agent in my home made my then girlfriend sit in a corner, refusing to let her get dressed, while he leisurely read her personal diaries from the last decade of her life periodically looking up at her with a perverted grin. Within a month of the press conference I held in which I spoke out for the ALF, the state passed a law

that made it illegal to aid and assist an illegal organisation by speaking for them - and there was an attempt to make the law retroactive to put people like me in jail. It failed (that time).

I was always different from my anarchist friends. I foolishly believed in this notion of America and effecting social change. I believed in the 'process', even. Suddenly the tragedy of political sacrifice became very real for me. The bullets that felled Martin Luther King and Medgar Evers tell this story, and being an activist was no longer this sexy, romantic grand adventure. Advocating against the status quo is serious work with serious consequences and I knew it could not be a weekend hobby; I had lost faith in the proscribed forms of social progress. Had it not been for that raid and grand jury I would have never moved to the UK, which I did in 1999 during the ascendancy of SHAC. I was originally planning to pursue my activism through a group called Legislative Efforts for Animal Protection (LEAP). Since my year stay in England, my activism and life have never been the same.

**A.** Could you tell us what SHAC's biggest impact has been on the pharmaceutical industry? How would you compare its impact against that of other proactive US

organisations like, say, PETA? Do you believe that SHAC's campaigning strategy would have benefited from appealing more to the public imagination, or was this never part of its considered remit? How would you describe the public mood? Do you feel that all SHAC USA's activities have been successful, and how do you believe it will be regarded in retrospect within the wider context of the movement?

**KJ.** I'll never understand why the pharmaceutical industry has decided to rally around Huntingdon. They should have given the animal rights movement its metaphorical 'bone'. Huntingdon was sloppy and was caught out too many times abusing animals. We as a movement deserved, at the very least, the appeasement of its closure. In taking a stand, though, trying to protect what had become an international symbol of all that is wrong with vivisection, the pharmaceutical industry picked a fight that now will not end with just HLS. In a tragic way I am happy about this, as a prolonged fight against HLS equates to a bigger attack on the whole of the pharmaceutical and other pillars of the vivisection industry. Huntingdon's closure is no longer just about saving however many animals are poisoned there per day, month or year - but now encompasses a broader ideological battle against a systemic form of oppression.

Over the years, whenever I gave speeches, I would tell the crowd that a line had been drawn in the sand between animal rights and animal research and that the battle ground was HLS. In many ways it is a winner-takes-all scenario, because when Huntingdon closes after all the corporate, law enforcement, and extra-governmental support that has kept it afloat, it will show that there is truly no company or institution that we, as a global animal rights movement, cannot take on. This is a frightening prospect for anyone who exploits animals and one that jeopardises national economies, cultural traditions, religious practices, and societal norms. What we are seeking with our fight for animal liberation is no less than revolutionary and sees HLS as just this: a first skirmish.

Much is being said right now in the US about 'tipping points', both from the standpoint of the best-selling sociological book and the tipping point with the war in Iraq. It means that there is a point of no return. I think SHAC has become the tipping point within the animal rights movement. Born out of the successes of Hillgrove and Consort, the grassroots of this movement began to truly understand its power, and it manifested itself in this now epic and very global campaign. To me, SHAC serves as a rejection of the politics of the polite practiced by too many of the national groups. It's a campaign whose appeal comes from how genuine it is, from the fact that there are no paid staff, that there is free literature, and because it offers enthusiastic support for those brave 'criminals' that risk life and liberty to free animals from labs. SHAC is a breath of fresh



air in what can sometimes be the stifling rigidity of national group campaigns that usually seek only welfarist reform. SHAC pioneered a new plan of attack and from it offered a point of no return.

The aggressive and confrontational efforts that this campaign embodies, are not entirely at odds with the rest of the movement, however. US organisations like PETA, Sea Shepherd, and Last Chance for Animals rose to national prominence after ramming whaling vessels, literally kicking down laboratory doors with TV camera crews in pursuit, and acting as the ALF conduit for information, leaked records, and liberated animals. I think of SHAC as the 21st-century extension of what built this modern animal rights movement, and still serves as its lifeblood.

**A.** We appear to have become a political and media scapegoat, yet the image of us as a sinister terrorist threat is at odds with our essentially non-violent history of activism and of our fundamental aims. How widely do you think this manufactured image of us is accepted by the (US) public, and what impact is it likely to have on our effectiveness if any?

**KJ.** It's my opinion, and likely one shared by many across the world, that the American public is pretty damn stupid. Under-read and over-fed, they will believe what they are told to believe. One needn't look any further than the Iraq war and the current political administration 'governing' the country for proof of this sad fact. Western media has been reduced to sensationalism over substance, the sound bite rather than the specifics, and 'spin' instead of the whole story.

As newspaper circulation drops and the ratings of cable news programs soar, a crisis for objectivity and honest reporting heightens. Mainstream media is complicit in the Machiavellian manipulation of the masses right now - keeping the people pacified with their 'bread and circuses'. In this case the 'bread' provided by Prince Georgie is cheap lethargy-inducing foods high in saturated fats, sugars, and salts (and well marketed every other second over radio and television airwaves), and the 'circuses' by little girls stuck in wells and coal miners trapped in caverns; perverted pop stars serve as the emotional pornography keeping folks distracted and sedentary.

It is also not a well-kept secret that the marketing budgets of most animal/earth-exploitative industries alone outnumber the combined income of every major national animal rights and even welfare organisation. This makes it very hard to compete in the marketplace of ideas. The very survival of vivisection and factory farms depends upon conning people into thinking they need every new pill that hits the market and that chicken menstruation (eggs) is indeed appetising. It's nothing new that when confronted with a superior argument against the exploitation of animals these

corporations ignore the message and attack the messenger.

In the 1980s during Reagan's conservatism and the cold war, we were dismissed as communist tree-huggers. In the 1990s with a renewed US crackdown on the mafia, we were labelled, sued, and even charged with racketeering. Now, in the shadow of 9/11, the terrorist gets pinned on us sinisterly and inappropriately. This media predicament is not helped either by the fact that national groups like the Humane Society of the US give press statements applauding the FBI for cracking down on the ALF. It is not only historically and ethically naive to think we will find allies in the armies of the oppressor - but only serves to publicly fracture our otherwise already media-injured movement.

As for long-term impact, though, I am hopeful. The coin of popularity with the US public can flip so easily, because as I said, they are so stupid and believe what they are told to believe. Learning to navigate and employ the same Madison Avenue PR tricks as our opposition can help level this playing field. PETA has, in my estimation, proven this brilliantly time and time again - courting controversy and being publicly ridiculed one minute, and slamming fur via attacks on celebrities and documenting undercover lab footage another.

**A.** There are some prominent thinkers in the movement who argue that direct actions other than those that fall into the satyagraha (non-violent resistance) bracket are counter-productive in the longer term, and that 'strategic non-violence' is the only kind of direct action that should be deemed acceptable within an animal rights context. They argue that coercion can never have as strong an impact as persuasion, or bring lasting change, and that this will take time and patience. Can the 'soft' approach proffered by opponents of direct action ever achieve the same? Would the movement ever have had the same profile without its active wing? Does direct action have its own limitations and problems within a social context? Can it be counter-productive? Is it always relevant or necessary in achieving a goal?

**KJ.** This truly is the debate that just won't die, and one that ironically proves the point of those arguing for more aggressive tactics. If we cannot even convince or persuade each other, as allies and friends, over tactical differences - what makes us think we can gently nudge the global public towards a completely different way of eating, dressing, learning, and essentially seeing and living in the world?

This debate bothers me, and not because it pits direct action against pacifism, as these are just surface-level topics instead of a deeper debate between inclusionary and exclusionary politics. I think direct action is great and has worked wonders for our modern animal rights movement, but it is not the only method of agitation for which I am advocate. The analogy I use to illustrate this

point is that of a bicycle wheel. At our core, we as a movement have an ideological hub that is shared by most animal rights advocates. Stemming from this hub are many different spokes representing many different forms of activism from legislation and education to direct action, vegan food pioneering, and even PETA supporters running naked through the streets. All play their role and all connect to the outer wheel giving this cause movement and progress. Those who argue against the use of direct action deny such pluralism and speak in absolutes. To me, it's very much like George Bush and his 'you're either with us or you're against us' intellectually elementary rhetoric. This sort of absolutism I fear can and will lead to tactical hegemony and the death of innovation.

To me, risks are what it is all about. There is no mathematical equation anyone can prove in how to succeed with a social justice cause. One part protest and two parts education does not always equate to victory. The modern animal rights movement was founded on such risks and by courting controversial and illegal actions. Ronnie Lee ignited a grassroots and revolutionary movement in the 1970s with ALF vis-à-vis the Bank of Mercy and Hunt Saboteurs. In the US, PETA created a national platform for animal rights off its notoriety from the ALF's mouthpiece and liaison. Where Ronnie Lee and Ingrid Newkirk were successful (or so I would at least argue), who knows how many others out there tried something different but failed? The point is that we owe it to the importance of our principles to pursue innovation and a refusal to be put in a methodological box.





Context and our opposition's preparedness should define how we manage our campaigns. It would be silly to suggest a name and shame campaign against every meat eater in a given city, but that is not the case with vivisection campaigns, as SHAC and SPEAK have proven. 'Animal rights' is far too big an umbrella term to establish a set of protest standards for the hundreds of issues that fall under it. It also should behoove us all to have fluidity in our approach. If the sting of a residential picket has been removed through constant use then it may be time to retire that approach and evolve our thinking.

Ultimately though, the best argument I can put forward for more radical thinking and action is that we do not have the luxury of patience on our side. Human population growth coupled with an ever increasing consumption pattern sees billions more animals killed each year, environment destroyed, air and water polluted, temperatures rising, and thousands of species of life going extinct every single year. It's now or never time if we are going to slow down the pace of destruction and death on this planet, let alone stop it.

**A.** Continuing a little with the theme of strategic non-violence introduced in the last question, one might say that one has only to look at post-Ghandi India and Pakistan as an example where, denuded of Ghandi's visionary tactical and spiritual guidance, his influence and the ideals he fostered in the nation died with him. Does this not suggest that the way to achieving lasting change is likely to be a misnomer in any context unless we can change the very compulsion and dynamics that drive the human species, which are motivated by the urge to have 'power over', whether it is a perceived lesser species, lesser creed, gender or colour, or more widely over the natural world, which we abuse relentlessly and try to control?

**KJ.** I don't know, but it sure is an important question. Authors like Derrick Jensen have weighed in on this in a proactive way, but I don't know how qualified I am to speculate. Human psychology is complicated and this movement could use a few more trained professionals in this area, not only because it could influence how we campaign, but because there are more than a few amongst us who could use the counsel. I have found from my experience and education that human animals are a cancerous, cantankerous, and quarrelsome species and, from recorded history, this appears to be a genetically encoded condition. I am only 28 years old though, so hey, what do I know?

There is something important to be said though for recognising the interconnectedness of oppressions. The same tired and shallow arguments that enslaved, harassed, and bound humans are those same being used today to justify animal exploitation. Like we complain about environmentalists that eat meat, our social justice concerns shouldn't just stop with a

recognition of animal rights.

Paul Watson, in an interview with Bite Back magazine, said this, and it keeps me motivated even at my most apocalyptic and challenged moments: 'I personally feel that humanity is doomed. We are the last of the hominid primates and this was a group that was never very successful to begin with. Overly territorial, obsessed with trivialities, violent, petty, and completely lacking in empathy for other species. The world will be a much nicer place without us. But if we can buy time for other species and for eco-systems and if some of us can alleviate the suffering inflicted on other species, then this (activism) is a worthwhile pursuit.'

**"the best argument I can put forward for more radical thinking & action is that we do not have the luxury of patience on our side. Human population growth coupled with an ever increasing consumption pattern sees billions more animals killed each year, environment destroyed, air and water polluted, temperatures rising, & thousands of species of life going extinct every single year."**

**A.** In examining all other liberation struggles, it is vital to understand their role in defining their movement's goals within a historical, philosophical and political context. Few political climates engender or facilitate radical change; indeed, politics is usually the last vanguard for change to be implemented, since this is the area in which those at the helm stand to lose the most in terms of profit and power, and thus is the last to catch up with popular opinion. Based on this, what do you believe the increasingly heavy-handed approach of governments towards animal rights activists suggests, and do you think things are going to get a

whole lot tougher? How will this affect the pro-active nature that groups like SHAC or SPEAK have adopted?

**KJ.** Conservative pundits in the US right now certainly seem to be enjoying their heyday, and along with this, their pet-interests such as animal agriculture, pharmaceuticals, rural interests (read hunting, fishing, trapping) and other earth and animal exploitive industries (oil, timber, etc) are a political priority. The increased repression speaks to two contributing factors, the modest and potential successes of the animal rights movement (with certain issues) and increased political power of monolithic multinational corporations in a capitalist system.

With vivisection, and in particular the prosecution of myself and the SHAC 7 right now, it's not hard to find the origins of the government's intense interest and vicious attack. The pharmaceutical industry in the US is roughly a 300 billion dollar a year industry. It spends more on lobbying politicians than any other industry on Capitol Hill, including tobacco and big oil - roughly 200 million on federal campaigns alone since 2000. It employs over 1200 lobbyists just in Washington DC, well outnumbering the actual amount of elected politicians. The head lobbyist for Pharmaceutical association PHARMA is a former congressman who used to chair the House Ways and Means Committee and is the one man responsible for prohibiting the government from negotiating lower drug prices (many poor elderly have to drive to Canada to fill prescriptions as their medicine is about 35% cheaper there.) Every bill and every protection sought by this industry is won. Huntingdon is small potatoes and when SHAC started protesting the banks and brokers of the lab, the FBI did little to nothing. When, however, activists started turning up outside the million dollar homes of pharmaceutical executives, they became - not joking - the leading domestic terror threat to the US according to the FBI!

Goliath has its weaknesses though, as evidenced by SHAC and SPEAK, and in my opinion the pharmaceutical industry does not have an ideological position on animal testing, but rather exploits it for the sake of ease in testing 'safe' whatever product it wants to get to market. If vivisection becomes too unsavoury a method (politically, financially, or even personally) then I have no doubts it would be abandoned, and it is our job to figure out this industry's breaking point before the FBI finds our own!

If history is any barometer of how bad things will get for US activists at the hands of the FBI and a corrupt political system, we had better brace ourselves. As of yet, animal rights activists have only faced really a fraction of the repression experienced by civil rights campaigners. Beatings, murder, sabotage, and the like are par for the course by FBI standards. The best movements like SHAC and SPEAK can do is learn from the





past so that it can possibly prevent a little of what is surely in our future.

**A.** As part of the ongoing analysis of the movement within the UK, it's essential to look at how the media image of the animal rights activist as popular hero has gradually mutated over the last couple of decades to become that of public enemy. Do you see a parallel in the US? What has dictated this swing of opinion? Was 9/11 the final deciding factor in cementing this new swell of opinion, or was that just cosmetic? Regardless of this media volte-face, are we seeing a resurgence of public support? Some UK activists will remember that following a number of successful raids on laboratories in the 1980s, tabloid newspapers and TV networks simply couldn't give the movement enough coverage. The liberators were portrayed as heroes, the act of liberation one of salvation for the animals. These are questions that are vital in analysing where we are today, and in assessing the growth and future direction of the movement. As an avowed supporter of direct action - a position that has brought you into conflict with the state on numerous occasions - what personal slant do you have on this issue?

**KJ.** I don't think this is tricky to understand. As heroic, brave, and inspiring as the liberations of the 1980s were, these were new actions, not part of a pattern, and the loss of a few research animals here and there (with no cohesive campaigns behind them) did not present much of a threat to the industry as a whole. Over the 1990s and through today, as direct action became less symbolic and more about the inflicting of financial harm to these industries, it was inevitable that its public image would be met with more resistance. The honeymoon was not going to last forever.

The worry is there. Our opposition takes us more seriously than ever before now that several of their businesses have been closed, their financing shut off, and even their homes targeted. When you have The

Prime Minister decrying your impact on the national economy and the US Senate debating the legality of your abolitionist cause, it is only logical that critical press should follow.

Outside of the political and media slant, I am curious about the actual level of support of direct action. Amongst our movement I think it's higher than most would realise. The frustration so many of us feel, the burning indignation at the injustice, and the consistently stymied efforts at lawful organising cannot help but breed support and even participation in more radical actions. I think SHAC USA was so enthusiastically picked up on here because it had that smart-ass, brazen, defiant praise of the ALF. It was a breath of fresh air in a climate set by national groups too concerned with their political image and most importantly, their pocketbooks. As for the public at large, if marketed right and with the right press strategy, I see no reason why they won't again warm up to the David v Goliath / Robin Hood story the ALF presents.

**A.** As a nation whose non-human exploitation figures outstrip any throughout the world, the US is the largest global consumer of non-human animals in the world. It is also currently one of the biggest global players on most levels, yet it appears to fear individualism and non-conformist - a trait that sees it periodically organising witch hunts. Do you consider your present situation an aspect of this disease?

**KJ.** Yeah, the US certainly has its issues. Undemocratic, paranoid, greedy, violent, and gluttonous it is often very embarrassing to admit citizenship. Saying that, however, I cannot help but believe that any population of people (not ruled with an iron fist and denied access to excess) wouldn't indulge itself on its many spoils and privileges. There are certain degrees of variation amongst civilisations but ultimately I think it's a problem with humanity and not simply with the hubris of the US.

As for my present situation, staring down the

barrel at 23 years in jail for political speech activity? I think the variables that brought these charges, in this culture, at this time, are more complicated than what can be fitted in a sound-bite answer. Read my memoirs in a couple of years and perhaps I'll have a better answer.

**A.** The rights philosophy embraces many strands of thought, and challenges more shortcomings in society as a whole than any other movement has or is likely to in the future. It calls for a fundamental change in the way we think and live, the way we view all life, and for a re-evaluation of religions, of global consumption, and environmental destruction to name a few. It could be rationally argued that the struggle to establish rights for every sentient individual is key in building a secure global future. In theory, the rest should follow. Realistically speaking - in light of these essential truths - what progress do you see being made towards the abolition of the global exploitation of our non-human brethren, and do you believe we can make lasting change?

**KJ.** This can be complicated for me. Like most, the signs of our times get me down, but to maintain some motivation, we must recognise the significant progress this movement has made. Just in my short ten years of activism and of having adopted a vegan lifestyle I have seen the food options available skyrocket. Only a decade ago there were just a handful of soy milk distributors. The vegan ice cream was by and large disgusting. Veggie eating at a mainstream restaurant typically meant a salad. Now the fastest-growing grocery chain in the US is Whole Food Market (an extremely veg-friendly store). PETA got veggie burgers introduced into 9000 Burger King restaurants across the country. Non-dairy ice creams I needn't even glorify as it is readily known they are fantastic. It has never been easier to be vegan than it is now.

Recognising this progress, though, doesn't mean we ignore the losses. Every year,





even though the vegan population grows, it still shrinks in percentage of the population with the number of new meat-eaters born into the world. Every year the earth takes a hard hit because we as a species cannot figure out how to live sustainably. Realistically speaking - pragmatically speaking - addressing population growth and consumption patterns more than anything else will maybe lead to the greatest reduction in animal exploitation.

The lack of concern shown to our cause holistically frustrates me. We as a movement have a tendency to fractionalize our issues and work on them as if they are separate from the rest of the problem. The current US effort towards factory-farm animal welfare exemplifies it. Patiently working through the broken political system

in the next few decades is supposed (hopefully) to ban battery cages and strengthen the welfare of the confined and soon-to-be slaughtered animals. Millions of dollars, thousands of volunteers, and countless hours have been and will be poured into this welfare effort without notice to the ever-increasing destruction to the world around us. Welfare efforts such as these I see as distracting, delusional, and ultimately a band-aid solution to bullet-wound problems. At my most cynical moments I cannot help but question if our large national animal welfare organisations are truly interested in abolishing animal exploitation, as it would put them all out of work, jobs that are paying some of them six figure salaries.

Regardless of what hopes I have for our

movement, I have the most faith in Mother Nature. I am not saying this because I am spiritual about our planet, but because nature has ways of thinning the herds and punishing the habits of living that do not work. Heart disease, strokes, cancer, and a host of other illnesses are derived from our awful diets. Cities that are built below sea level not surprisingly get flooded during hurricanes. Greenhouse gases raise our ocean currents, threatening coastal cities. Mad cow, foot and mouth, and now avian flu promise retribution for our manipulation of the delicate balance of the ecology. Lasting change will come because we will end up reaping what we sow. It may not be this year or in the next couple of hundred, but the earth existed long before the human animal and it will exist long after we're gone.

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# GREYSTOKES REVISITED 20 YEARS ON

Operation Greystokes was an action of almost militaristic precision, in which 17 baboons were liberated in 1985 from the French laboratories of The National Council for Scientific Research (CNRS) at Gif-sur-Yvette, which had been using the animals in epilepsy experiments for – in some cases – over 10 years. With the raid of the institute came a wave of publicity and, fearing adverse public reaction, CNRS attempted no prosecutions. In 1986, seven activists were arrested and fined a combined total of €55,000, which they agreed to pay on the understanding that the money would be used in alternative research methods. The proposal was rejected. Amnesty is now being demanded for the seven people convicted, who are still under pressure from CNRS and others, and supporters are being asked to sign an on-line petition.

Patrick Sacco's gripping personal account of Operation Greystokes is complemented by

that of Christian Huchedé, who runs the sanctuary where nearly all the baboons are still alive and well today. Huchedé's recollections of the gradual rehabilitation of the animals lose much of their emotional impact in translation, but show nonetheless how psychologically damaged were the baboons by their incarceration and the experiments to which they were subjected. It makes moving and uplifting reading.

When in 1985, detailed inside information became available to us about the location of the primate house at the CNRS laboratories, we had no hesitation about what had to be done. In targeting a national institution like CNRS, we would be making an important symbolic gesture, much in the same way as INSERM was to be several years later. It was the symbol of the battle against a violent institution, a state research centre; it was not merely a question of denouncing an abuse, it was a question of highlighting an

abuse that took place with full legal sanction.

The baboons, who were of the papio-papio genus, were at that time being used in photo-sensitive research into epilepsy. The primates were kept locked in cages some one metre square; resin electrode boxes had been fixed to the base of their cranium through which electrodes were connected to certain areas in their brain. They were subjected to daily ordeals by researchers, who flashed lights directly into their eyes at various frequencies in order to induce epileptic seizures; researchers were also attempting to isolate at which precise moment and at which frequency the seizures were triggered. In their wild habitat in Gambia, epilepsy occurs naturally in the baboon and researchers (the scientist conducting the study was a certain Professor Naquet) at CNRS wanted to understand what triggered these epileptic episodes. In attempting to do so, they had





been torturing some of the primates for some ten years. Many of the animals were too large for their cages and did not even have sufficient room to stand upright.

Since the experiments were being carried out on an open campus, we were able to obtain detailed information about the laboratory from sympathisers of the cause who knew exactly where the baboons were housed. Once the information had been verified, we were confident that the animals could be liberated, so over the next four months, we prepared for the raid. The CNRS was put under surveillance and the building was watched virtually every night; we did test runs opening doors and windows to see how the guard reacted, and we met up two or three times a week to discuss work in progress and see if all had gone according to plan thus far.

But crucially, of course, we had also to think about the 'post-liberation' aspect of the operation; we needed to find somewhere safe for the primates after they had been freed, as well as medicine and veterinary surgeons, who could remove the apparatus from their heads.

We discussed the matter with vets who specialised in primate behaviour, believing that we might eventually be able to release the animals back into their natural environment - we even travelled to Holland to meet experts in charge of a primate

rehabilitation centre. They strongly advised us against any attempt to release the baboons, stressing that their long years in captivity (some of them were born at CNRS) would have blunted their instinct for survival in the wild. We heeded their advice.

We had further to consider making preliminary contact with the media who would have to film the unfolding operation. The aim of the exercise was to create a media spectacle that would publicly denounce animal experimentation.

**The most delicate subject  
to be tackled was the  
question of finding trustworthy  
individuals who had the  
necessary competence,  
motivation and discretion,  
and who would be prepared to  
risk their careers should  
everything go pear-shaped.**

Once all these prerequisites had been met and we felt that, in every other aspect, we were well prepared, we were ready for the operation and at one o'clock on the morning of the 1st April, 21 people, including camera

crews, were all in position. There were three lookouts with walkie-talkies, and one martial arts expert whose role was to act as a bodyguard in the event of a problem.

The two trucks arrived, and their motors were left to run at low revs in readiness for reversing into position in front of the animal house window. From this moment, a minimum of noise was allowed, and those taking part in the operation were required - should communication be necessary - to use pseudonyms in order to minimise any possibility of their being recognised.

Having removed the protective bars from the window, and then the window itself, ten individuals entered the animal house along with the camera crew; since the TV equipment required very bright lighting, the window was completely blacked out as a precautionary measure, so that no light could be seen from the outside.

While someone daubed the walls with the words: 'Science without conscience is the death of the soul', the rest of us detached the cages in which the sick baboons were being kept. In order to calm them down, we took the precaution of covering the cages, which reassured them, although I remember that this time, unlike other occasions when we had gone in to see them, the primates were utterly silent - one would have almost believed that they understood that we were there to save them...



Once we had completed this first stage, we lifted the heavy cages one after the other through the window to carry them to the waiting trucks, in an atmosphere of almost reverential silence. The whole thing was pretty disturbing as the laboratory, which was located on the ground floor, was surrounded by buildings, which no doubt housed researchers, and we couldn't help wondering: would they see us...?

The entire operation lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. After this phase had been completed, everyone moved off to a pre-arranged location. I took the steering wheel of one of the trucks and drove it to a nearby parking lot, then returned to the lab to check that nothing had been forgotten. It was at this moment, having done a head count, that I realised that one of us was missing - one of the look-outs was still at her position and hadn't seen that we had completed the liberation - apparently, she had dropped the walkie-talkie that had been around her neck while she lay in hiding behind a bush...

OK. So we had finished the first half of the job. The second half now remained to be completed. We now had to get rid of the cages, which were simply too cumbersome for a 1,000 km journey. We also had to divide the primates into two groups: those with electrode boxes, and those without. We had previously located with some difficulty a spot for this purpose in a long-forgotten clearing in the forest of Rambouillet. Once there we removed the 17 cages and, having anaesthetised the baboons, gently lifted them out.

Of the 17 baboons, eight had no electrode implants, so they were taken straight to the Refuge de l'Arche at Château Gontier, where they arrived at dawn. Meanwhile, the other nine were taken in the opposite direction to the South of France, where a vet awaited to operate on them in his home to remove the implants. For maximum 'camouflage', they travelled in my camper van in potato sacks for the entire duration of the 1,000 km journey, which ended the following night.

We undertook both journeys in a heightened state of anxiety; the raid, and the disappearance of the animals, which had been discovered at dawn, was headline news on the radio, and it was reported that road blocks had been set up to recapture the animals. It looked like we were for the chop...

Making myself available in the event that I might be needed, I stayed with the baboons for 15 days, keeping an eye on their progress and observing their behaviour. We had absolutely no idea whether they would get on with each other, nor did we have a clue whether they would adapt to any food other than the proprietary laboratory food pellets to which they were accustomed.

There were a number of us at the house: the vet, a militant friend who was also a nurse,







and Doctor Kalmar, who has since died, but who was a militant anti-vivisectionist. It was they who removed the electrode implants, and who saw to the aftercare as well as the integrating of the animal. I was completely stunned when I entered the animals' holding cage: I was mindful of maintaining a respectful distance that would feel safe to them, but the baboons completely accepted me...

The integration of the group went extraordinarily well - indeed, far better than we could ever have hoped, and three weeks later, they were reunited with the rest of their group at Château-Gontier.

When they arrived, they weren't taken to an island straight away, as it was important to keep them away from public scrutiny at the Refuge de l'Arche. The affair was in the newspapers for quite some time, and even if Christian Huchedé knew exactly what he was doing, for him there was no question of doing anything less.

The baboons were hidden for several months, at the end of which time they were moved to two islands prepared for them by animal lovers. All the experts had assured us that baboons can't swim, and we believed that they would not be able to escape from their islands; as it turned out, several years later, one of the baboons did escape and was found in the garden of a neighbouring property; after that, an electrified fence was put around the perimeter of one island, to stop them going in the water.

Christian Huchedé, who is in charge of the Refuge de l'Arche à Château-Gontier, the sanctuary where the rescued monkeys were homed, recalls how the animals became acclimatised to their newfound 'freedom':

'It's difficult to be absolutely exact about some of the specifics with regard to the Greystoke baboons; they were not identified on arrival, and were joined by a group of 32 others in 1989, and have since formed an important social group. What is certain is that the oldest individuals in the group are among those liberated during Operation Greystoke. They are therefore over 30 years old today. Among them is a female we call 'La Tondue' - literally the shaved one; she was one of those who had had electrode implants, and to this day, her hair has never grown back on her head.

Interestingly, one recognises those from her group because, for identification, she plucks their hair so that they become bald like her. One must in addition remember that on 1st April 1985, only seven baboons arrived at the sanctuary, and the others arrived later.

When the first Greystoke animals arrived, we already had several baboons from various sources such as circuses, zoos and those previously kept by private individuals. As soon as we housed the first arrivals in a structure where they would be in visual contact with the baboons already living at the sanctuary, we were shocked by their complete lack of communication skills. No vocalisation, no complaints, no groans of satisfaction, no grooming, just frightened body language, and real terror. Whenever we approached their home, they would climb the bars and would crouch there motionless for long periods of time waiting for us to leave.

Their trust in humans began to grow after about six months. The young volunteers working there at the time (who were under 15 years of age) spent many hours with them to reassure them, to show them things, to teach them how to peel a banana, for

example, or to open a monkey nut. It was clear that the baboons had had no previous experience of fruit - they had never eaten anything other than proprietary laboratory food. Slowly, having grown in confidence around humans and through contact with the other baboons whom they could see and hear, they began to communicate by groans and cries and in grooming sessions.

It was at this point that we decided to introduce them to other baboons that were already at the refuge. There was no visible aggression or rivalry because they had watched, heard and touched each other through the bars. The others, arriving individually, were placed in holding cages inside the baboon house and were released into the group after a certain period of time.

When we took in 32 baboons in January in 1989, we released all of them together onto two islands surrounded by water, which we had prepared and which they still inhabit to this day...

As to the two baboons who did not survive for very long, I recall above all a juvenile female who was weak and had only one arm. She only survived a few months, and was undoubtedly killed by the others because of her disability or weakness...in any case, it was not because they fell ill.'

[http://www.international-campaigns.org/pdf/petition\\_Greystoke.pdf](http://www.international-campaigns.org/pdf/petition_Greystoke.pdf)  
The petition, which was launched by International Campaigns (and to whom we express our gratitude), demands amnesty for all the members of the group who are still being pursued for the money 20 years later. (€90 a month is still being lifted from my account each month towards the repayment of the debt following the CNRS court case).





### Beyond Greystokes

To this day, my life is still dedicated to animals, but in another manner. In 1997, I set up an organisation called RESPECTONS with several volunteers, and today we have 300 supporters. Nearly 200 animals live at la Chaume, at Saint-Léger-Vauban: cats, dogs, sheep, oxen, and horses, who have all been victims of various forms of abuse.

In 1998, we set up a refuge at Avala in Yugoslavia. I had at that time received several press cuttings from Christine Bourdon about what was happening in the country; photographs showed some of the 100,000 starving homeless dogs in the Serbian capital of Belgrade; if they were unlucky enough to be trapped by a furrier, they ended their lives crushed together - 20 dogs to a tiny metre-square cage, sometimes for an entire week without food

or water. This, according to the journalist, preceded their 'euthanasia' with a blow from an iron bar.

I told myself that this could not be possible, that perhaps it was 'artistic licence' employed by the journalist to move the reader, so I went to see for myself...What I saw haunted me when I returned to France; I could not forget the look in the eyes of these caged animals, whose only future was a violent death. I told myself that things would have to be changed.

Thanks to the Bardot foundation, and the association with Bourdon, we were able the next year to set up a refuge in Belgrade; it is called OAZA (the oasis), where animals are cared for and sterilised. Because of a change in rules in Belgrade, they were henceforth given the status of 'free dogs'. In

1998, we set up a sterilisation scheme for dogs without 'masters'.

RESPECTONS also works in France to help mistreated animals who are suffering or abandoned (cats, dogs, horses, sheep, cows, goats and others). Last year at Marigny l'Eglise dans l'Yonne, where our sanctuary is situated, a herd of cows and calves were abandoned in appalling conditions. Sadly, many of them died but we managed to save a few of them, and to take out a court case against the farmer.

We also rescued seven horses from the abattoir. Their owner, crippled with debt and seized by bailiffs, wanted to sell them to an abattoir, but thanks to the financial assistance of a number of people, via an appeal over the internet, we managed to buy them, and they now spend their days grazing in fields.



